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Vol. XX, No. 1, 1954.

पुस्तकालय

PIŚITĀŚANĀ

By PRAFULLA CHANDRA BHANJ DEO

(*Received on 24th August, 1953*)

A variety of Chāmuṇḍā, named Kālikā after the *Matsya Purāṇa* is mentioned by Bhaṭṭasāli in his *Iconography of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, under Chāmuṇḍā images. The *Matsya Purāṇa* says that Kālikā should be represented naked, with a necklace of skulls and riding on an ass. Bhaṭṭasāli states that an image of this class can be recognized in figure No. 9 of the Rājshāhi Museum with the inscription 'Piśitāśanā' on it.

Bhaṭṭasāli's identification of the Dacca Museum Sculpture is not correct. The ancient inscription of the image in the Rājshāhi Museum is the clue to its true identity. It is not the icon of the Goddess Kālikā but the Yoginī Piśitāśā who presides over the North-Western Heaven along with a group of eight companions, as we know from chapter 52 of the *Agni Purāṇa*, where information about the 64 Yoginīs is given in some detail. The 4th chapter of the *Bṛhadyoginī Tantra* describes this Goddess thus:—

'तरक्षुचर्म्ममद्यघोरा पिप्पिताग्ना खरस्थिता ।
कपालकर्त्तिकाहस्ता निर्म्मांसा मुण्डमालिनी ॥'

The flesh of turtles, soaked in sacrificial wine is recommended in the aforesaid Tantra to be the favourite offering to this Yoginī.

I give on the next page a photograph of this Goddess taken from the shrine of 64 Yoginīs at Hirāpur, near Bhubaneśwar. That this Yoginī is a form of the Goddess 'Nirṛti' herself is plain from the Gāyatrī of 'Piśitāśā' given in the next 'paṭala' of the same Tāntrik text.

'ॐ निर्ऋत्यै विद्महे ।
पिप्पिताग्नायै धीमहि ॥
तन्नो युक्ता प्रचोदयात् ॥'

In chapter six of the *Bṛhadyoginī Tantra* Śiva describes the benign aspect of Piśitāśā which is no other than the form of Śītalā, popularly associated with small-pox, measles and other kindred ailments.

'सौम्यं रूपं च योगिन्याः प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रयत्नतः ।
वायुरूपमद्यगस्तस्याः पिप्पिताग्नेति या स्मृता ॥
चिन्तयेच्छीतलां देवीं रासभस्थां वरप्रदाम् ।
मार्ज्जनीकलशोपेतां सर्व्वालङ्कारभूषिताम् ॥'

It is interesting to note how the skull-cup or severed head and the knife of the fierce aspect of the Goddess have been changed into the jar of nectar and the broom in the benign aspect of the same divinity. It is important to note that the function of both is similar. While in her Yogic

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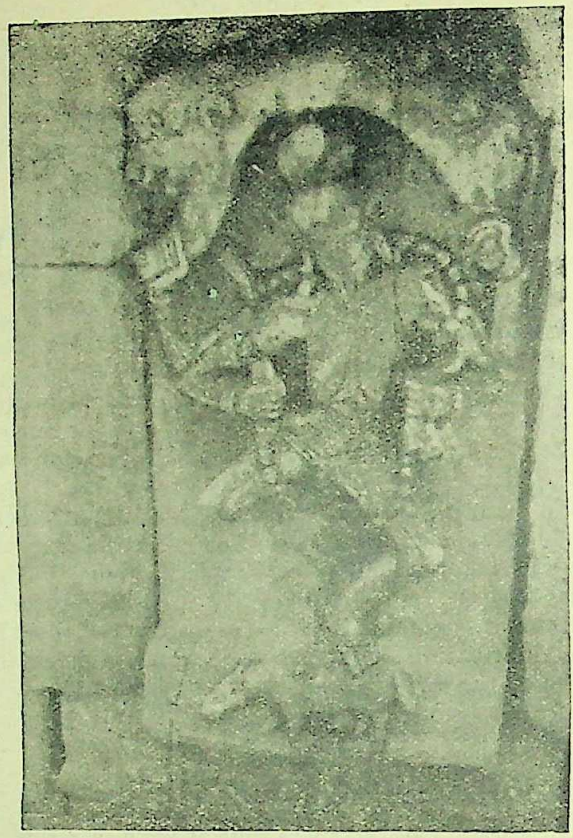

The Yoginī Piśitāśā
(From the Hirāpur 64 Yoginī Chakra Temple)

form to be contemplated by worshippers who have severed worldly bonds, the skull-cup or severed head symbolizes the receptacle of thought-power in which the ambrosia of immortality is begotten by the slow destruction of dulness through the creative energy of the divine 'Kartṛikā', in the Śītalā form of the Goddess precisely the same function is achieved by the jar of nectar and the broom. The Goddess cleanses all dearth and diseases by the broom while she sprinkles nectar to bring about wholesomeness and confer immortality. Both forms of the Divinity are installed on the ass, an old symbol of virility. The animal vehicle in Goddesses is the male principle of feminine anthropomorphic divine energy according to accepted Tāntrik symbolism, while the animal conveyances of male Deities in this form of representation, denote the primeval symbolic theriomorphic form of the particular God himself. Partial human and animal forms of the divinity itself, is a stage of development in between these two processes. Both the ass (on which the Goddess stands) and the 'tarakṣu' (identified with the wolf) whose skin the Goddess holds, are the sacrificial victims of the 'Rākṣasas' in the Veda, who are born from Nirṛti, the Goddess of death.

From this account and the photograph of the Yoginī Piśitāśā (given above) it will be seen that although her image partially resembles that of Chāmuṇḍa, she belongs to a different category, and is a representation of the main maternal Divinity Herself. 'Piśitāśā' or 'Piśitāśanā' both mean 'Flesh-devouring' and is a synonym for the 'Rākṣasas' in Sanskrit literature. In its Yogic sense, however, it has a different meaning and

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symbolizes the force of Vāyu or Air in 'Prāṇāyāma'—mystic breath control'—whereby the 'rasa' element or 'juice substance' of existence is gradually dried up or absorbed in sublimation of thought process, prior to the consumption of the material ego in the sacrificial fire of electrical consciousness lit up by the communing neophyte in his 'Suṣumṇā'—cavity within the spinal cord. This is clearly explained in the Yoginī Tantras, most of which are esoteric in character.

It is important to remember that each of the 64 Yoginīs represents mystic powers presiding over different departments of the dissolution of the universe and its corresponding microcosm in the triple physical existence (material, nervous and mental) of the communing Yogī, aspiring to destroy his 'Jīva' or animal existence in order to regain his true original consciousness of Śiva or the supreme all-auspicious God-head.

It will not be out of place here to quote the relevant passage from the '*Matsyapurāṇa*' (Ch. 261), according to which Bhaṭṭasāli identified the image No. 9 in the Rājshāhi Museum as Kālikā of the 'Chāmuṇḍā' variety.

'तीक्ष्णखड्गधरां तद्वद्वच्मे योगेश्वरीमिमाम् ।
दीर्घजिह्वामूर्द्धकेशीमस्थिखण्डैश्च मण्डिताम् ॥
दंष्ट्राकरालवदनां कुर्य्याच्चैव कृशोदरीम् ।
कपालमालिनीं देवीम्मुण्डमालाविभूषिताम् ॥
कपालं वामहस्ते तु मांसशोणितपूरितम् ।
मस्तिष्काक्तं च बिभ्राणां शक्तिकां* दक्षिणे करे ॥
गृध्रस्था वायसस्था वा निर्म्मांसा विनतोदरी ।
करालवदना तद्वत्कर्त्तव्या सा त्रिलोचना ॥
चामुण्डा बद्धघण्टा वा दीपिचर्म्मधरा शुभा ।
दिग्वासाः कालिका तद्वद्गर्दभस्था कपालिनी ॥'

This passage depicts the 'Yogeśwarī' variety of the Goddess to be long-tongued, with hair pointing upwards, adorned by bone-pieces and holding a sharp sword. The 'Kapāla-mālinī' variety of the Goddess should be constructed with terrible fangs, adorned with a garland of heads and with emaciated abdomen. Her left hand should contain the skull-cup full of blood, flesh and brain while her right hand should hold a small spear or the spear-blade in the shape of a knife. The Goddess 'Chāmuṇḍā' of this variety should be made fierce-faced, with sunk abdomen, emaciated in form and holding a leopard skin. She should be adorned with bells round her waist, endowed with three eyes and seated on a vulture or a crow. The 'Kālikā' variety of these images should be constructed naked, seated on an ass and endowed with the human skull or skulls.

It will be seen from this free translation of the passage that the description of the Kālikā variety of these images is not very clear, and there is no mention of the weapon in the right hand unless the weapon of 'शक्तिका'

* This is 'कर्त्तिका' in some editions 'कर्त्तिका' meaning a small knife with saw-like edge, used for carving slowly, while 'शक्तिका' means a small spear or by a stretched analogy to the blade of the spear—may signify a small knife.

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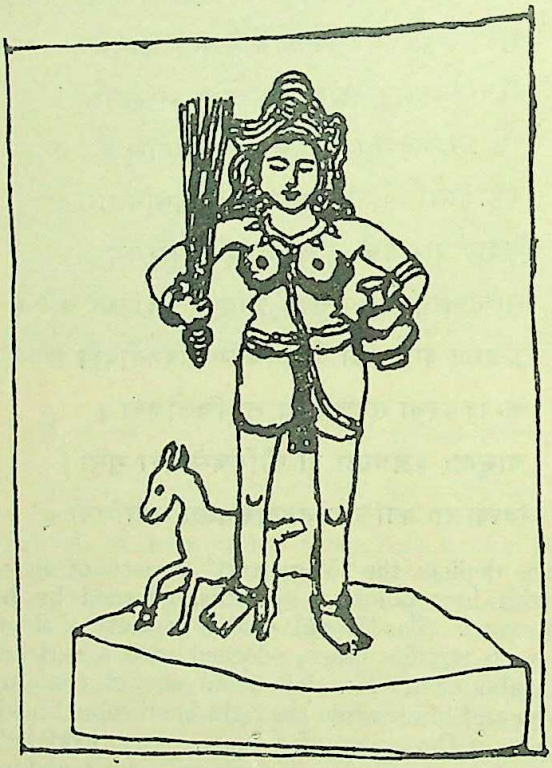
or 'कर्त्रिका' mentioned about 'Kapāla-Mālinī' can be extended to this figure as well. It is a pity that a photograph of this important icon in the Rājshāhī Museum has not been reproduced in the book of Bhaṭṭaśālī, as that would have helped us in the proper identification of the image. The age of the sculpture may, however, roughly be fixed in the 12th century A.D.

In all this, the basic fact that the sixty-four 'Yoginīs' are but different forms of the Supreme Goddess 'Kālikā' Herself should not be lost sight of. Hence any of these 64 forms may be worshipped as the manifestation of the Supreme Energy who is formless and in the form of Lustre united with the all-pervading Consciousness-Bliss Experience of Śiva (the auspicious Divinity or Brahman) in the highest plane of Truth. It may be for this reason that the figure is entitled 'Piśitāśanā' in order to demonstrate its connection with the Yoginī 'Piśitāśā'. Below is given a sketch of the Goddess 'Śītalā', as she is found in her shrine at Badasahi in Mayurbhanj.



The Yoginī Śītalā
At Badasahi, Mayurbhanj, Orissa

Note on the Goddess Nirṛti

'Nirṛti' is the Goddess, in the Ṛgveda, who presides over dissolution. In the *Maitrāyanī Saṁhitā* she is connected with dice, women and sleep. Her ceremonies are performed with black grain or with nail-parings. The sacrificial fee in the worship of this Goddess is the black cow with imperfect horns. In building the altar for the sacrificial fire bricks burnt black are used for her. She grants children to the barren wives of kings, in whose houses she is specifically worshipped. It is not strange, therefore, that this Goddess should be associated fairly early with the dark primeval 'Night'

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which is, but the original form of 'Aditi' (derived from the root 'Ad', to devour), the all consuming eternal Supreme Mother of everything, whose boundlessness defeats conception. The punishing nature of this Goddess endows her with the attributes of the noose or fetters and thus brings her early into connection with the Goddess 'Bhadrakālī' of the 'Sūtra' period. The Vedic Brāhmaṇa student is always under a vow of triple chastity, viz. that of word, deed and thought. It is 'Nirṛti' who guards this duty of the Brahmachārin, subjecting him to her terrible fetters if he falls or deviates from the strict observance of this rule. The erring celibate must make recompense to this terrible Goddess for his fall by the sacrifice of an ass. He must go about begging alms clad in the skin of the sacrificed animal, proclaiming his sin to those who give him alms. This procedure of purification is also enjoined for a husband who has sinned against his wife. The murderer is enjoined to carry the skull of the dead man and to eat and drink out of it. He should live on alms, wearing the skin of an ass and declare his sin before everyone. It is for this reason that Siddha Yogīs of the Śaiva School carry the skull of an unmarried Brāhmaṇa boy and eat and drink out of it as the 'Prāyaśchitta' (penance) for Brahmahatyā (murder of a Brāhmaṇa). It is, as if, through their mystic practices that they have pierced the abode of Brahmā, the Creator, (on the crown of the head) and thus obtained mastery over the forces of dissolution whereby the microcosm or miniature universe of physical existence is destroyed to emerge again as the God-consciousness underlying all being and non-being. It is because this mystic significance of Tāntrika Yogīs, carrying the Brahma-Kapāla, is not understood that various gross and ignorant interpretations are put upon such practices by uninitiated persons. The Goddess of Dissolution guards over the manhood of her devotees in the form of celibate students, monks and self-abnegating Yogīs, who hope to destroy material bonds and longings for inspirational wisdom. The sacrifice of the animal, which is the representative of virility, sacred to the Goddess, is a symbolic and psychological replacement of virility in the fallen neophyte, who lessens the burden of his sin on his conscience by sharing it with others through confession. That the Goddesses Aditi and Nirṛti are the two poles of the one supreme primeval Night, who is the Mother of everything, is clear from the Royal Consecration sacrifice of the Veda. Here, Aditi is worshipped in the apartments of the chief Queen, while Nirṛti is communed with in the house of the discarded lady. Both these represent the two poles of the Royal Power in the creative sphere.

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TRADE, AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY IN WEST BENGAL, 1200 TO 1608, AS FOUND IN THE PERSIAN AND ARABIC SOURCES

By N. B. Roy

(Communicated by Dr. R. C. Majumder, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.)

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A rich store of historical literature, composed mostly in the Persian language is one of the legacies of Muslim rule in India. But we get from it an account mainly of the wars and victories of the Sultans and their court-life; trade and industry, marts and manufactures of the country being only casually referred to. In the case of an outlying province like Bengal, cut off from Delhi by long distance and a defective system of communication, such references again are extremely scarce. Hence an outline-sketch of the trade, industry and manufactures, in W. Bengal during the Muslim rule drawn with the help of epigraphic records, travellers' accounts and stray references in the Persian chronicles, might be welcome.

(1)

The earliest reference to an Isfahani merchant settled in Lakhnauti, 1207 A.D., occurs in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.[1] About the same time another Isfahani, Baba Haji is mentioned as the *Kotwal* of the same city.[2] A third foreigner resident in Lakhnauti, 1210–1213 A.D., was Qazi Ruknuddin Samarqandi, who compiled the treatise *Kitab Mirat-ul M'aāni Fil Idrakat 'ālam ul Insāni* كتاب مرأة المعانى فى ادراكات عالم الانسانى based on a Sanskrit work *Amritakunda*.[3] Did these persons come to Bengal in the wake of the invading armies or had they settled here under the Sena Kings?

The first arterial road constructed in Bengal was that from Devkot (mod. Gangarampur in Dinajpur dist.) to Nagar (Rajnagar?) near Suri, connecting 'Varinda' with 'Ajal'[4] of Minhaj which I take to be Kankjol. From Nagar the Muslim power advanced southward to Katasin, identified with Katsanga, about 20 miles north-east of Visnupur, from which place again it struck (1255 A.D.) at two important points, namely Nadiya (Nabadwipa?), presumably the head-quarters of a local chief and Aramya (Arāmbāgh?); the bastion of the Kalinga military power.

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[1] Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, B.I. Series, 159.
[2] Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, B.I. Series, 158.
[3] *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, January, 1953, p. 52. In the above is postulated the theory of Qazi Ruknuddin having come to Bengal by way of sea on the assumption of a close commercial intercourse between the ports, on the Syrian coast and the ports of Bengal. This is a very general observation refuted by the arrival and return by land of such persons, as Imamzadah Jalaluddin of Firuzkoh, *Tab. Nasiri*, 161-162.
[4] The word in the B.I. text is Ājal but Raverty misread the word as Rādh which was followed by subsequent writers. The region to the immediate west of Gaur was Kajangal (not Radh) which I consider to be a variant of the word Kankjol, 16 miles south of Rajmahal town.

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For communication with countries west of Lakhnauti, the Ganges continued to be the highway. The practice of the early Sultans of moving up the Ganges with their flotilla to check invasion from the west indirectly points to the continuation of the river-route as the main avenue of military movement and commercial intercourse. No definite opinion can be hazarded on the practicability of the Jharkhand route for purposes of trade, but the region west of Gaur comprising modern Manbhum, Barabhum, Dhalbhum and Kankjol was a comparatively flourishing region in the 11th century, sustaining three independent principalities and was evidently connected by road-ways. Rivers like the Mayurakshi, the Koppai, the Bansloi and the Brahmani were then navigable by boats and mention is made in a Bengali MS. of the transport of goods down the Ajay from Ilambazar to Katwa, as late as the middle of the 18th century.[1] Hence the statement that Kajangal was a waterless jungly tract on the eve of the Turkish conquest lacks support.[2]

The Muslim power confined within Varendra and Kajangal in the 13th century was widened in the 14th century to include a portion of Rādh. The port of Satgaon then grew into a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from Amul on the Caspian coast and Aleppo, as testified to by the Arabic inscription in Satgaon and a Persian *Sanad* now lost.[3] In the 14th and 15th centuries, this port, situated on the border of the great military power of Orissa was committed to the charge of high grandees, like Khan-i-Azam, Khaqan-i-Mu'zzam, Ulugh Ajmal Khan[4] and Ulugh Majlis ul Majālis Majlis Ikhtiyār Ruknuddin Rukn Khan[5] who guarded the whole frontier from Laobela,[6] 10 miles east of Tribeni to Hadigarh (which I identify with Hajigarh, a flag station, 26 miles south of Bardwan on the Eastern Railway).

In the 15th century Chota Pandua situated 14 miles north-west of Hughli became another citadel of Muslim power in South Bengal. From the inscriptions found in the place and the extant ruins, I am inclined to hazard the conjecture that Pandua was an important link in the chain of fortresses securing South Bengal (Radh) against aggression from Orissa.

In the middle of the 15th century, the commerce carried through the Satgaon port received stimulus from the expansion of the Muslim power to Bagerhat and Patuakhali sub-division of the Barisal district. The north-western portion of the Murshidabad district, shaped like a triangle by the arms of the Bhagirathi and the Padmā, is now a neglected zone, removed from the main currents of life, but the discovery of epigraphic records around the tip of this triangle, in villages like Bābargram, Kheraul and Bālliāghāta and the presence of broken walls indicate this zone to have been a thriving and populous centre during the Husain Shahi epoch. Similarly brick work and ruined masonry extending from Sāgardighi to

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[1] P. Mandal, *Chithipatre Samajchitra*, 202.

[2] Dr. N. Ray—*Bāngālir Itihāsa*, 85. Dr. Roy bases his statement on the Bhuvaneśvar *lipi* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva with the words राढायामजलासु जाङ्गलपथग्रामोपकण्ठे स्खलीसीमासु। which may be translated as 'On the dry borderland situated by the side of a village in Radha cut by jungly pathways'. How can 'jungly pathways' be construed to mean Kajangal?

[3] Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, 292.

[4] Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, 290.

[5] Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, 1870.

[6] According to Arthur Hughes, I.C.S. (Retd.), who lately visited this place, the village stretches along the old course of the Jamuna and is a predominantly Muslim locality, altered at present by the influx of the East Bengal refugees.

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Ghayesabad on the Bhagirathi would naturally raise a presumption as to this place having been dotted with a string of *qasbas* (townlets).[1]

Gcash, indicated in *Rennell's Bengal Atlas* as lying between Murshidabad city and the Culcully river was another important seat in the Murshidabad district in the 16th century. According to the Travel-diary of Abdul Latif (1608) the Ganges flowed past this pargana;[2] and here Begum Naulakha, mother of the martyred Afghan king Daud Karrani waited upon the Mughal viceroy Khan Jahan.

The region north of the Ganges, better known as Varendra, formed the centre of political gravity during the period under review, when consequent on the fluctuation in the course of the Ganges, towns like Gaur, Pandua, Tanda and Rajmahal rose one after another to be the capitals of Bengal. If Constantinople was the key to the sovereignty over south-eastern Europe, Gaur was the instrument for the control of the whole of north-eastern India. Situated at the apex of the triangle-shaped province, Gaur commanded the routes that ran in different directions across Ghoraghat to Kamrup and Tibet, over Kajangal and Bagdi to Cuttack and down the Ganges to Dacca and Chittagong, while on the west it opened the doors to the cities of northern India. Ruined monuments stretching for over twelve miles from north to south testify to the dimension and greatness of the city.

About twenty miles north-east of Gaur grew up the city of Firuzabad-Pandua, on the site of an older Hindu town. Many memories cling round this city, particularly during the epoch, 1340–1420; it had political, commercial and cultural ties with China, Herat, seat of Shah Rukh, grandson of Timur and Shiraz where lived the immortal poet Muhammad Shamsuddin Hafiz. Even after Pandua had ceased to be the capital of Bengal, this city, bearing the shrines of Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi and of Hazrat Nur Qutbul Alam, continued to maintain its unrivalled position as the chief religious sanctuary of Islam in Eastern India. This is clearly proved by Mirza Nathan's and Prince Shah Jahan's pilgrimage to this spot and the despatch of a set of pillars from Isfahan by a pious Muslim, Pirzad Khan for support to the canopy over the saint's tomb.[3]

The town Devkot was another important place which by its central situation and command of route to Kuchbihar became the political headquarters of the early Khiliji rulers, 1200–1280. In the following centuries it became a place of pilgrimage for pious Muslims, on account of a saint Maulana Ata having laid here his earthly remains and grew into a pargana town in the 16th century under Akbar.

Under the Husain Shahi dynasty, old Malda situated at the junction of the Mahananda and the Kalindri river rose into importance. This fact is borne out by the existence of nine inscriptions of the Husaini epoch

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[1] Gurudas Sarkar, *Sutir Purābritta, Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, 1325, 84–98; *J.A.S.B.*, 1917, 148–51.

Nikhilnath Ray, *Murshidabader Itihasa*, 135–46.

[2] According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, lithographed copy and the text, the Ganges splits up into two streams near Qazihatta in Barbakabad *Sarkar*. One of them named Padmavati turns eastward and unites with the sea near the port of Chatgaon, the other turns southward and divides into three branches. Jarrett, however, through oversight wrongly translates the passage to mean the Padma following a southern course. *Ain*, 2nd ed., 133. According to Blochmann, Qazihatta is below Rampur-Boalia, *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, 221, Eng. tr. of *A.N.*, III, 693 f.n.

[3] Abid Ali and Stapleton, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, 107.

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and a number of mosques, including the Jama' Masjid, bearing the lines

این قبله که در عالم معلوم شد

در هند بنام کعبه موسوم شد

(This sanctuary obtained celebrity throughout the world, (while) in India, it became famous as Kaba.) During Akbar's reign Malda comprised eleven mahals out of the sixty-six constituting the Jinnatabad *Sarkar*.

In the latter part of the 16th century, the Ganges by one of her frequent freaks began slowly to drift farther west, and Rajmahal rose to be the capital (1595), under the Kachhwa Raja Mansingh. The present ruins as well as Abdul Latif's description clearly prove that the city straggled over a wide area and was very flourishing. The event of Prince Murad's birth at Rhotasgarh was celebrated by purchase, among other things, of the following perfumes at Rajmahal:— (1) 30 seers of white ambergris, (2) 2 maunds of *Khas Khas*, (3) 2,000 musk-pods of Cathay and Khotan, (4) 2,000 bottles of the essence of *Bid-i-Mushk* (Salix Caprea),[1] (5) *Araq-i-fitna*[2] (extracts of plum or cherry), (6) *Araq-i-Bahar* (extracts of orange flower), (7) 2,000 bottles of rose-water, (8) 50 maunds of saffron.

This picture of prosperity is corroborated by Abul Fazl's description of the fiscal and administrative units of West Bengal, the amount of revenue then assessed, quotas of cavalry and infantry allotted to the different *sarkars* and the customs levied at the ports. True it is that some of the headquarter towns of the *sarkars* such as Pinjara and many mahals have not been identified, but the picture that emerges out of a rough survey of the political divisions and revenue-units is much more pleasing than its present aspect.

Firstly, the Udambara (Tanda) *sarkar*, with 52 mahals paying a net revenue of 2,40,79,399⅓ dams spread along the west bank of the Ganges from Rajmahal in the north to Rampur (Rampurhat). Running parallel to it on the other side of the Ganges, were the two other *sarkars* of Jinnatabad and Pinjara, contributing revenues of 1,88,46,967 and 58,03,275 dams and a body of 500 and 50 cavalry and 17,000 and 7,000 infantry respectively. South of the Mayurakshi and the Ganges were four other *sarkars* comprising much of the present West Bengal. Of them Sulaimanabad *sarkar* with 31 mahals, contributed a revenue of 1,76,29,964 dams and a body of 100 cavalry and 5,000 infantry. Its headquarter town was at Salimabad, about ten miles south-east of Bardwan and stretched over such places as Pandua, Bhursut and Raina (about 12 miles south of Bardwan) to Anuliya near Ranaghat in the south.

Adjoining it on the south and east was the Satgaon *sarkar* which spread along the eastern bank of the Bhagirathi from Navadwip in the north across Halishahar, Palta,[3] Barikpur (mod. Barrackpur) to Hajipur (Diamond Harbour) and Hatiagarh and included Magra and Burhan on the Ichhamati, a fort under Raja Pratapaditya. The customs and market-levies alone yielded 12,00,000 dams, about $\frac{1}{16}$ of the total revenue derived from the 53 mahals. The quotas of cavalry and infantry allotted to it were respectively 50 and 6,000.

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[1] I reject Dr. M. I. Borah's translation of this word as 'Egyptian Willow' on the authority of Brandis, *Indian plants*, 638.

[2] I reject similarly Dr. Borah's translation of Fitna as 'Jujube tree', because its flower in Bengal has an especially offensive smell.

[3] Jarrett misread the word as Calcutta. The variant in the *Ain*, lith. edn. II, 62 is 'Kalta' which might be 'Palta' now within the Barrackpur Municipality.

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The enclave of Bardwan district lying north of the present town, along with portions of Birbhum and Bankura districts formed the *Sharifabad sarkar* with 26 mahals, yielding a revenue of 24,88,750 dams, with a quota of 200 cavalry and 5,000 infantry allotted to it. This *sarkar* incorporated Bhurkonda on the Mundeswari river and other mahals such as Fath Singh, Dhaniyan and Khandaghosh and was known in that age for its breed of barbary goats and fighting-cocks.

South of it was the Mandaran *sarkar* from Jahanabad (Arambagh) in the east to Pachet on the west, Visnupur in the north to Mahisadal and Hijli, comprising Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Barabhum and a portion of Bagdi. At a place called Harpa within it there was a diamond mine. The total revenue yielded by the 16 mahals was 94,03,400; the cavalry force allotted to it being 150, and infantry 7,000.

(2)

As regards the agricultural produce, the staple crop was paddy (Kishtkar-i-Shali) [1] which was cultivated three times a year and there were such bumper harvests that revenue was assessed by an average estimate of the produce, instead of by measurements. The other produce in universal demand was betel-leaf which was used in the royal court [2] as well as by the aboriginals in their wooded habitations.[3] Sugar too was manufactured out of sugarcane that grew here in abundance.

As regards fruits, mango easily heads the list 'being preferred by Babur' to all other 'fruits except musk-melons',[4] but there were worms as 'large as the gad-fly'[5] in Bengal varieties of it, this evil being popularly ascribed to the curse of Nur Qutb-ul-'Alam on the headman of a village. The Barbakabad (Rajshahi) banana is mentioned as another delicious fruit by Abdul Latif. Babur also refers to the sweetness of its Hindustan variety.[6] The *martaban* variety, however, excelled every other of its kind grown in this province and Prince Aurangzeb was so fond of it, that during Shah Jahan's stay in Bengal (1625) he secretly ate up some of them kept in the cupboard for being presented to Mirza Nathan.[7] There were other fruits, e.g., the jack-fruit which grew 200 to 300 in a single tree, and were 'as large as pitcher', and orange which, according to Abdul Latif, was sweeter than *Narangi* and tasted by Emperor Jahangir at the time of drinking 'Ram-Rangi'.

Fish abounded in the rivers and formed a principal item in the diet of the people.[8] Babur delighted in watching them in the rivers of Upper India and remarked about the 'savoury' quality of the 'Hindustan fishes'. Shoals of them are mentioned by Mirza Nathan to have sprung into his pinnace in the review of the flotilla at Shahazadpur in Pabna district.[9] Ziauddin Barani, the author of *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* held up the Muslims living in Eastern India to scorn by branding them as 'portly, rice and

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[1] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, lith. edn. 48-49. Vide also the account in *Khulasat-ut tawarikh* and *Chahār Gulshan*, translated in *India of Aurangzib* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

[2] Zia Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, B.I., 589.

[3] N. B. Roy, *J.A.S.B.*, 1942, 63.

[4] A. S. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Babur*, 503.

[5] Jadunath Sarkar, *Bengal, P. and P.*, 1928, 146.

[6] A. S. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Babur*, 505.
Jarrett translated 'Kola' as orange which I am constrained to reject.

[7] M. I. Borah, Eng. tr. of *Baharistan-i-Ghayebi*, 780.

[8] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, lith. edn. II, 48.

[9] M. I. Borah, Eng. tr. of *Baharistan*, 53.

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fish-eating people (آب گرفته ماهی و پرنجن خورده)' but in the Bengal climate the viceroy Islam Khan, sprung from the *Chishti* family as well as Mirza Nathan, a *Maghribi* Muslim, developed a liking for the fishes abounding in the Bengal rivers.

The accounts of Abdul Latif and Mirza Nathan offer an idea as to the dwellings of the people of the time. In the village of Bāghā (now in Rajshahi dist.), one Hawada Miyan's house was built in *chakbandi* (square) style around a tank, and nearby was a *Madrasa* with thatched roof and mud-plastered walls. At the sight of this village, Abdul Latif went into raptures and wrote, 'On the banks of the tank were jack and mango trees—green, flourishing, and giving shade; how happy are the inhabitants of this retreat and how lucky are the elders among the residents of this wood-land'. Similarly, the temple of *Bankura Rai* [1] at Kagarghata, by reason of the proportion of its pillars, elegance of thatching and fine workmanship, was considered by Mirza Nathan to be unrivalled in the land of Jessore. Nathan built villas [2] for his own use in Jessore, one of which was three-storied and was supported on pillars made of *Supari* (betel-nut) tree.

Among the industries, handloom weaving occupied an important place, two varieties of which *Gangājal* cloth of Barbakābād and the fine muslin of Sonargaon were famous. In 1608 Mirza Nathan bought a single piece of cloth at Malda at a cost of Rs.4,000,[3] indicating the high water-mark attained by the weaving industry. Naturally the story became current that Princess Jahanara got burnt all over her person, because she was draped in Bengal muslin.

Boat-making was another important industry which I would discuss in a separate paper.

(3)

Architecture with the allied art of sculpture, bronze casting and painting formed one of the principal avocations of the Bengali people under the Hindu royal dynasties. This art obtained impetus from the Muslim Sultans who harnessed the native artists' talent for building structures according to their own notions. This fact is proved by the surviving monuments at Gaur and Pandua, Malda and Deotala, Satgaon and Kalna. Architecture which was mainly religious in character under Hindu kings, was turned by the Muslim rulers to secular purposes as well. Hence a large-scale building activity ensued during this period, marked by the building, not only of beautiful mosques but also of palaces, gateways and reservoirs of water. An inscription of 871 A.H./1466 speaks of the palace of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah, as a wondrous object 'conferring felicity and removing sorrow' and the water-course, flowing gently underneath the palace, as heavenly fountain (*Salsabil*). Hindu technicians undertook the repair and renovation of pious foundations like the mosques. Thus Ramandal (?) son of Kinapati (Ganapati) built a mosque in Rajshahi (1498).[4] Muslim Kāmāl and Hindu Gopal erected pillars around Nur Qutb-ul-Alam's

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[1] Bankura Rai was another name of Dharma Thakur, vide '*Introduction to Ruparamer-Dharmamangal*' by Dr. Sukumar Sen and Panchanan Mandal. It is not the name of a place as understood by Dr. Borah.

[2] Referring to the bamboo-made houses, Abul Fazl says that 'Some of them were so constructed that a single one would cost Rs.5,000 or more and last a long time', *Ain*, lith. ed. II, 48.

[3] M. I. Borah, Eng. tr. of *Baharistan*, 43.

[4] A. K. Maitra—*Monuments of Varendra*, 38.

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tomb.[1] Lal Kumar Nath renovated a mosque at Chota Pandua, 1763 A.D.[2] while Ram Ram, son of Baikalraj repaired the Jāma' mosque in Shah Jalal's dargah at Pandua, in Malda district, 1722 A.D.[3]

Sculpture which flourished in the Hindu period, received a death blow under Muslim rule, on account of the ban which Islam imposed on the representation of living creatures. The indigenous sculptors made up for this loss by transferring their skill to the ornamentation of edifices erected in different parts of the country. Hence the high excellence of decorative art under the Muslim Sultans of Gaur. Opinion expressed by competent authorities as well as the specimens in Ravenshaw's Gaur leave no doubt on this point. For instance, Major William Franklin who visited the ruins of Gaur in 1810 A.D. was lavish in praise of Lottan Masjid which, he thought, was 'unsurpassed for elegance of style, lightness of construction or tasteful decoration in any part of Hindustan'. Cunningham writing about the *Sona masjid* suggested that it was so called, because the golden colour of the domes blended with the ornamentation of the surface so remarkably that the entire structure looked like a fire of gold under the glitter of sunshine.

From the above facts and a study of other sources, the impression is irresistible that the Muslim rule in Bengal during the epoch under review was, on the whole, a period of general prosperity, but Ibn Battuta's remark with regard to the lot of the Hindu population in Eastern Bengal during the reign of Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah,[4] Muslim intolerance reflected in the demolition of Hindu shrines during 1200 to 1400 A.D. and the references in the Bengali literature to the occasional maltreatment of the Hindus during the Husain Shahi epoch do not warrant a positive statement of this prosperity being shared by the Hindus equally with their Muslim neighbours.

It is an indubitable fact that the Muslim, with his international affiliations and a materialist outlook demanded luxuries from home and abroad which brought wealth to the artisan and craftsman. Hence the justification of Ibn Battuta's (1345) statement that the port at Satgaon was crowded with vessels with a forest of masts and of Bowrey's remark (1670), 'On the great river Ganges and many large and fair arms thereof, are seated many fairy villages, delicate groves, and fruitful lands, affording great plenty of sugar, cotton, lacca, honey, beeswax, butter, oils, rice, grain with many other beneficial commodities to satisfy this and many other kingdoms'.

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[1] Abid Ali and Stapleton—*Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* 107.
[2] N. B. Roy—*Visva Bharati Annals*, IV, 84.
[3] Abid Ali and Stapleton—*Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*,
[4] H. A. R. Gibb—*Ibn Battuta*, 221.

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SOME LOST UPAPURĀṆAS

By R. C. Hazra

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For more than two thousand years the Purāṇas have constituted a living literature in India, being intended to guide the common people in their religious and social life in different ages and also sometimes in different localities. The political changes and religious movements, which ancient and mediæval India experienced not infrequently, could not be expected to allow the life of the people to remain static, but great care was taken by the Brahmins to preserve the Vedic basis of religion and society under changed circumstances. As it was not possible for these leaders of the Hindu society to ignore totally the environments and the influence of the age, they had often to make a compromise between the old and the new life, and this spirit of compromise was responsible for the total extinction of some of the Purāṇic works and for changes and modifications in others. Among the principal Purāṇas the genuine *Brahma*, *Brahma-vaivarta* and *Garuḍa-purāṇa* are still untraceable, the present Purāṇas of the same names being spurious works of later dates. The loss sustained by the Upapurāṇas also is not negligible, and this will be evident from the number and nature of works treated under this head. Of the Upapurāṇas dealt with below, not a single is now found to exist in manuscripts or printed forms. Isolated verses or extracts from some of these Upapurāṇas have been preserved as quotations in the Smṛti Nibandhas, but the rest are known merely by name either from the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Purāṇic and other works, or from the treatises on Vrata, Māhātmya, etc. which claim to be parts of these.

1. The Ādi-purāṇa

This work, which was also called *Ādya-purāṇa*, *Sanatkumāra*, *Sānatkumāra*, *Sanatkumārīya*, *Sanatkumārokta* and *Sanatkumāraprokta*, was quite distinct from the present *Ādi-p.* published from Calcutta (with a Bengali translation) by Nayīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā in 1891 and from Bombay by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Śaka 1829 and preserved in MSS. in all parts of India. It occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas and was a Vaiṣṇava work composed between 500 and 700 A.D. For full information about this work see my article in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, VI, 1945, pp. 60–73.

2. The Āditya-purāṇa

This was one of the earliest and most popular Upapurāṇas. But unfortunately its name does not occur in any of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except those contained in three comparatively late works, viz., the *Devī-bhāgavata*, the *Vindhya-māhātmya* and the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* The list of Upapurāṇas, which Raghunandana gives in his *Mala-māsa-tattva* [1]

[1] See Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta), Vol. I, pp. 792-793.

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from the '*Kaurma*' (i.e., *Kūrma-p.*), contains the name of a '*Bhāskarāhvaya*' Upapurāṇa. According to Kāśīrāma Vācaspati and also perhaps Raghunandana himself, this '*Bhāskarāhvaya*' Upapurāṇa is the same as the *Āditya-p.*[1] We do not know whether this identification is right or wrong. The '*Bhāskarāhvaya*' Upapurāṇa may as well be the same as the *Saura-p.* which is not mentioned in Raghunandana's list. However, the non-mention of the name of the *Āditya-p.* in the majority of the lists has not in any way minimized the importance of this work. Almost all the Nibandha-writers are found to quote numerous verses from it, some of these writers being the following: Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (author of the *Tristhalī-setu*), Anantabhaṭṭa (author of the *Vidhāna-pārijāta*), Gadādhara, Nārasiṃha Vājapeyin, Gopālabhaṭṭa, Raghunandana, Govindānanda, Vidyākara Vājapeyin, Caṇḍeśvara, Mādhavācārya, Vidyāpati, Madanapāla, Hemādri, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Aparārka and Lakṣmīdhara. In his account of India Alberūnī names the *Āditya-purāṇa* in that list of major Purāṇas which he heard and committed 'to writing from dictation'.[2] Alberūnī further says: 'Of all this literature I have only seen portions of the *Matsya*, *Āditya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*', and gives the translation of a few verses of the *Āditya-p.*

That the *Āditya-p.* was an early work cannot be denied. The manner in which Alberūnī and the Nibandha-writers of different parts of India name and utilize it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity and antiquity, shows that it must have been written not later than 700 A.D. As the *Matsya-p.* (53. 59–63) and the *Skanda-p.* (VII. i. 2. 79–83) name the *Narasiṃha-p.*, *Nandi-p.*, *Sāmba-p.* and *Āditya-p.* and say that all these Upapurāṇas were 'well-established in society' (*loke . . . saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ*), *the Āditya-p. must have been written not later than the sixth century A.D.* From the mention of the *Mahābhārata* and the names of the zodiacal signs and week-days in some of the verses of the *Āditya-p.*,[3] it appears that this work is to be dated not earlier than 400 A.D. *It is highly probable that it was written in the fifth century A.D.* This early date of the *Āditya-p.* is fully supported by the remarkable absence of Tantricism in its rituals.

We have said on other occasions that the *Bhāskara-purāṇa*, mentioned in *Skanda-p.* V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa), 199. 4-5, may be the same as the present *Sāmba-p.*,[4] that the *Āditya-p.* is different from the earlier

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[1] See Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's commentary on the *Mala-māsa-tattva* (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—bhāskarāhvayam ādityapurāṇam.

Just before giving the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas in his *Mala-māsa-tattva* Raghunandana writes:

kaurme—

'*anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api*|'
tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā— . . .|
(*Smṛti-tattva*, I, pp. 792-3).

It is to be noted that Raghunandana names the *Āditya-purāṇa* as an instance, although the list, which he gives from the '*Kaurma*', contains the name of a '*Bhāskarāhvaya*' Upapurāṇa (and not of the *Āditya-p.*). Hence Raghunandana seems to take the '*Bhāskarāhvaya*' and the *Āditya-p.* to be identical.

[2] Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, I, p. 130.

[3] See the verses ascribed to the *Āditya-p.* in *Smṛti-tattva* II, p. 382, *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed.), IV, pp. 86 and 87, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti* (Bombay ed.), I. i, pp. 280-281, *Kāla-sāra* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 610, and so on.

[4] See *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, Vol. XVIII, 1952, p. 110.

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Saura-p. which is now lost,[1] and that the claim of the present *Saura-p.* to be a part of the *Āditya-p.* is totally unfounded.[2] The *Bhaviṣya-p.* mentions a *Mārtaṇḍa-purāṇa* and says that it dealt with Vratas.[3] But as we are quite ignorant of the nature and other contents of this *Mārtaṇḍa-p.*, we do not know whether it was the same as the *Āditya-p.* or the earlier *Saura-p.* which is now lost. The *Sūrya-p.*, mentioned by D. R. Bhandarkar,[4] must be a different work.

We do not know to which sect the *Āditya-p.* originally belonged, or whether it was a non-sectarian work. In the comparatively early Nibandhas there is a large number of extracts, quoted from the *Āditya-p.*, in which the worship of the Sun has been prescribed.[5] On the other hand, Viṣṇu-worship is recommended and praised in some of its verses;[6] according to one line, it is the adherents to the Pāñcarātra system who escape all kinds of sufferings;[7] and one verse states that a worthless Brahmin, who is not marked with Śaṅkha, Cakra, Ūrdhva-puṇḍra, etc., is to be placed on an ass and banished by the king from his kingdom.[8] In Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Tristhalī-setu* there are a few verses which praise Benares and the different types of Śivaliṅga. From all these quotations it appears that either the *Āditya-p.* was a non-sectarian work, or it originally belonged to the Sauras but was afterwards utilized by the Pāñcarātras and the Śaivas for the spread of their respective religious ideas. The latter generalization seems to be more probable because of the fact that the verses in praise of Viṣṇu and Śiva are found quoted in comparatively late works.

Regarding the provenance of the *Āditya-p.* we have got no clear idea. That it was a non-Bengal work, is certain. It is probable that this Upapurāṇa was written in Northern India.

It will be interesting to note in this connection the varied contents of the *Āditya-p.* on the basis of the references and quotations made in Alberūnī's work and in the different Purāṇas and Smṛti-Nibandhas. According to the *Devī-bhāgavata* (I. 3. 15) and the *Vindhya-māhātmya* (Ch. 3), the *Āditya-p.* was a 'very extensive' work (*ādityaṃ cātivistaram*); from *Bṛhaddharma-p.* III. 2. 31 we understand that it dealt elaborately with Gāyatrī and gave a description of Gāyatrī's appearance, colour, etc., most probably in connection with *gāyatrī-dhyāna*;[9] and Alberūnī's quotations show that it contained a large number of verses on the geography of the

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[1-2] See *New Indian Antiquary*, VI, pp. 124-125.

[3] *Bhaviṣya-p.*, IV. 121. 1-2—

śrīkṛṣṇa uvāca—

śṛṇu bhārata vakṣyāmi pañcāśīti-vratāni ca |
noktāni yāni kasyāpi munibhir dharma-darśibhiḥ ||
bhaviṣya-matsya-mārtaṇḍa-purāṇeṣu ca varṇitam |
vārāhaṃ caiva saṃgṛhya kathyante tāni pāṇḍava ||

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 279.

[5] See, for instance, *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), I, pp. 738–740, 792–804, and so on.

[6] For such verses see *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 326-7, II. i, pp. 1145–47, and so on.

[7] *pañcarātra-prasaktā ye na te durgatim āpnuyuḥ* (quoted from the *Āditya-p.* in *Nityācāra-paddhati*, p. 509).

[8] *śaṅkha-cakr-ordhvapuṇḍr-ādi-rahitaṃ brāhmaṇādhamam |*
gardabhaṃ tu samāropya rājā rāṣṭrāt pravāsayet ||

(quoted from the *Āditya-p.* in *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, ed. Shyamacharan Kaviratna, p. 184).

[9] *gāyatryā varṇa-rūpādi ādityākhya-purāṇake |*
jñeyaṃ tenārtham ājñāya gāyatrīṃ prajapet kṛtī ||

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earth, the names and position of the seven nether worlds (viz., Tāla, Sutāla, Pātāla, etc.), the names and position of the seven worlds (viz., Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Mahaḥ, etc.) of the mortals and the immortals, the description and measurement of the mountain Meru, and a discourse on 'Kalpa'.[1] Much more interesting are the verses ascribed to the *Āditya-p.* in the Smṛti-Nibandhas. A study of these verses show that the *Āditya-p.* dealt elaborately with various topics concerning religion and society. Some of these topics are the following:—

(1) Śrāddha.—The right procedure of its performance. Determination of proper time. Necessity of performing śrāddha during the rainy season when the Pitṛs are expelled by Yama from his abode and sent down to the world of mortals. Praise of dedicating a 'nīla-vṛṣa'—an act, which causes great satisfaction to the Pitṛs and ensures plenty of food and enjoyment to the dedicator. Bad effect of the non-performance of śrāddha on the belief that there are no Pitṛs.

(2) Death, and cremation of the deceased.—Causes of death determining the regions to be attained by the deceased. Praise of death in war. Praise of committing suicide in case of suffering from incurable diseases. Persons deserving cremation (viz., those who have invited sudden death through mistake; those who have been killed by wild beasts, snakes, poison, lightning, etc.; those who have been murdered by Caṇḍālas or thieves; and so on). Praise of throwing the bones of the deceased into the Ganges.

(3) Impurity.—Rules of impurity caused by birth, death and miscarriage. Rules of purification of the body under different conditions, (viz., after touching undesirable persons; while travelling on the way or suffering from some disease; and so on). Method of purification.

(4) Marriage, and the duties of married life.—Praise of the Gāndharva form of marriage and of accepting *śulka* for the girl.[2] Respect to be shown to a son-in-law, who is to be regarded as Viṣṇu himself; and advice to the father not to dine at the house of that daughter who has not attained motherhood.[3]

Duties of married women.[4]—They are to serve their husbands and obey them in all matters. They should not undertake any religious rite without the permission of their husbands or other guardians. Method and praise of *sahamaraṇa* and *anumaraṇa*.[5] Dining with the wife of one's own caste—permissible during journey.[6]

(5) Duties of people.[7]—Advice to the people of the Kali age not to practise the *dharma* of the Kṛta-yuga. During the Kali age they are to

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[1] See Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, I, pp. 168, 229-230, 232, 248 and 368.

[2] *gāndharveṇa vivāhena yas tu kanyāṃ prayacchati |*
gandharva-lokaṃ vrajati gandharvaiḥ pūjyate ca saḥ ||
śulkena dadyād yaḥ kanyāṃ varāya sadṛśāya ca |
kiṃnaraiḥ saha gīyeta 'gāndharvaṃ lokam eti ca ||

(quoted in Govindānanda's *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 575).

In *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 80, these verses have been ascribed to the *Ādi-purāṇa*.

[3] For the relevant verses of the *Āditya-p.* see *Smṛti-tattva*, II, pp. 147-8, Aparārka's com., on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, pp. 239-240, and Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, III, p. 273.

[4] See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. i, pp. 326-7.

[5] See *ibid.*, II. ii, pp. 957–960.

[6] *brāhmaṇyā bhāryayā sārdhaṃ kvacid bhuñjīta cādhvani |*
asavarṇa-striyā sārdhaṃ bhuktvāpatati tatkṣaṇāt ||

(quoted in Mādhavācārya's com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. i, p. 425).

[7] For the relevant verses see Mādhavācārya's com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. i, pp. 83-84 and 280-1, and I. ii, p. 91; *Smṛti-tattva*, II, pp. 112-3, and 382; *Madana-pārijāta*, p. 331; and so on.

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avoid the following acts:—remarriage of girls, allotment of the largest share to the eldest son, killing of cows, marrying one's own brother's wife, practice of celibacy for a long time, intercaste marriage, killing a Brahmin even in war, entrance into the Vānaprasthāśrama, prescription of such penances to a Brahmin as may cause his death, recognition of sons other than the *dattaka* and the *aurasa*, and so on.

Praise of morning bath during the month of Kārttika and of performance of *tarpaṇa*.

Proper time for taking food, viz., morning (*prātaḥ*) and evening (*sāyam*).

Study of the *Mahābhārata*.

(6) Donations.—Praise of giving various things to proper recipients, especially to worthy Brahmins, viz., gold, land, well-furnished house, bed, clothes, seat, umbrella, footwears, chariot, elephant, horse, cows of different numbers and colours, cows known as Kapilās, calves, food, salt, sesamum, artificial cows made of sesamum, ghee or water, skins of black antelopes, water-pots, sacred thread, sacred books such as the Veda, and so on.

Qualifications of donees.—Proper time for making gifts. Right procedure of the same. Gifts which can please particular gods.

(7) Various kinds of public work.—Praise of constructing dams, planting trees, digging wells and tanks, and so on. Dedication of orchards, gardens, parks, etc.

(8) Measurement of land by *Paramāṇu, Trasareṇu, Rathareṇu, Bālāgra, Likṣā, Yūkā, Yava, Aṅguli, Vitasti, Prādeśa, Tāla, Gokarṇa, Ratni, Tusta, Viṣku, Dhanurdaṇḍa, Nālī*, etc., the extents of which are as follows:

8 Paramāṇus	=	1 Trasareṇu,
8 Trasareṇus	=	1 Rathareṇu,
8 Rathareṇus	=	1 Bālāgra,
8 Bālāgras	=	1 Likṣā,
8 Likṣās	=	1 Yūkā,
8 Yūkās	=	1 Yava,
8 Yavas	=	1 Aṅguli,
12 Aṅgulis	=	1 Vitasti,

and so on.[1]

Measurement of a *gocarma*.[2]

(9) Vratas and festivals.[3]—Selection of proper Tithis for the performance of these. Rules of self-restraint that one should observe on these occasions. Description of various Vratas and festivals, some of which are the following.

(*a*) The *Putra-saptamī-vrata*, in which the Sun is to be worshipped on the Saptamī Tithis of every month, especially on the Māgha-śukla-saptamī.

(*b*) The twelve *Saptamī-vratas*, in which the Sun's twelve forms, viz., Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhāskara, Indra, Vivasvat, Aryaman, Mitra, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu and Bhaga are to be worshipped during the twelve months (from Caitra) respectively.

On the *Āṣāḍha-śukla-saptamī*, which is called Vijaya-saptamī, Sūrya is to be worshipped in a maṇḍala by one who must wear white clothes,

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[1] See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 120-1, and *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 140-1.

[2] *gavāṃ śataṃ vṛṣaś caiko yatra tiṣṭhaty ayantritaḥ |*
tāṃ vai gocarma-mātraṃ tu manur āha prajāpatiḥ ||
(quoted in *Dāna-sāgara*, India Office MS., fol. 137*b*).

[3] See especially *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. i, pp. 738–740, 792–804, 875-6, II. ii, pp. 168, 341–3, 649-650, 915, and so on.

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have a sacred thread, and be a *brahmacārin*, and must not speak with women. The offerings are to consist of fruits, vegetables, meat, *pāyasa*, etc.; and the 'Daivajñas' are to be honoured and fed. The things to be given away on this occasion are wine, condiments, honey, Śāli rice, meat, vegetables, etc. It is said that those women, who worship the Sun on this Tithi, become fortunate and live happily in the Sūrya-loka with their husbands, and that after the expiry of the period of enjoyment they are reborn in high and rich families.

In connection with the description of Sun-worship on the *Śrāvaṇa-śukla-saptamī*, which is called Mārīca-saptamī, reference is made to the Sun's power of curing various diseases including those of the skin (viz., Kuṣṭha, Dadru, Kaṇḍu, Śvitra, Ślīpada, Jalodara, Gulma, Atisāra, Hṛd-roga, Vidradhi, Pāṇḍu, Āṇāha, Galagraha, Śiraḥ-śūla, Pārśva-śūla, Akṣi-śūla, Visūcikā, Vāta, Kṣaya, etc.). The Sun is to be worshipped with the six-syllabled *mantra* '*oṃ namaḥ sūryāya*'; and the worshipper is to take his seat before the deity by facing the east.

During the *Bhādra-śukla-saptamī*, which is called Phala-saptamī, the Sun is to be worshipped with the offer of various fruits; and the cultivators, merchants, bankers and others, who observe the Phala-saptamī-vrata, have their efforts immensely rewarded.

During the *Āśvina-śukla-saptamī*, which is called Anodanā, a cart is to be given away with food materials, and Brahmins and Bhojakas are to be fed.

(*c*) *Śyena-grāsana-vidhi*.—On the *Caturthī*, *Aṣṭamī*, *Navamī*, or *Caturdaśī Tithi* of the white half of the month of Kārttika, a married woman, who is the mother of one or more sons, is to take her bath and worship Yoganidrā in a fruit-bearing tree outside the house, where she is to go without taking any companion with her. At this place she is to offer food to a Śyena bird, return to the house, take her meal even before the head of the family takes his own, and worship her husband.

(*d*) *Śyāmā-mahotsava*.—On this occasion Śyāmā, who is said to have been churned out of the ocean of milk and who was known by three more names Nārāyaṇī, Satī and Drākṣā (because the gods and demons said '*manojñā sumukhī caiṣā hanta drakṣyāmahe vayam*', when she was churned out), is to be worshipped on well-ripe Drākṣā fruits. Two boys and two old men are to be honoured on this occasion, the fruits are to be given to spiritual preceptors, and music and dancing are to be performed.

Besides these, there is copious description of *Aśokāṣṭamī-vrata*, *Vaiśākhī-vidhi*, *Putrotpatti-vrata*, *Deha-tyāga-vidhi*, *Dūrvāṣṭamī-vrata*, *Vijayā-dvādaśī-vrata*, and so on.

(10) Description of different deities, such as Agni (who rides a goat), Śiva (who has four hands), Lakṣmī, Indra, the eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas, and so on.[1]

(11) Miscellaneous topics, such as those relating to (*a*) numerals, (*b*) praise of Benares, and the method of worshipping Śiva there, (*c*) *adbhutas* concerning *svapna* and *kāya-riṣṭa*, (*d*) names of the seven sages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara, (*e*) names of *dig-gajas*, enumeration of *ratna-pañcaka*, names of the nine things known as *kautuka*,[2] and so on.

An examination of the quoted verses shows that in many of the chapters of the *Āditya-p.* the Sun (Bhānu or Āditya) spoke to the 'great

[1] See *Smṛti-tattva*, I, pp. 99, 128, 136, 174 and 190.
[2] See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. i, p. 49.

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sage' (*mahāmuni*) Durvāsas.[1] In some chapters Vasiṣṭha reported to a king what Pitāmaha had said to the gods and sages,[2] in some chapters Vasiṣṭha spoke to Bhārgava Rāma,[3] and in some others Vyāsa was the speaker.[4] In a large extract of 130 verses Nārada is spoken to,[5] and in another extract Āditya speaks to Brahmā.[6] From all these, it appears that in the *Āditya-p.* Vyāsa reported to some sages what the Sun (Bhānu or Āditya) had said to Durvāsas on diverse topics.

We do not know whether the *Āditya-p.* cared to claim to belong to any Mahāpurāṇa, but the *Matsya-p.* (53. 62) and the *Skanda-p.* (VII. i. 2. 32) take it to be a part of the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*. It is needless to say that this connection between the two Purāṇic works must have been meant for subordinating the *Āditya-p.* to a principal Purāṇa, viz., the *Bhaviṣyat.*

3. The Ākheṭaka-upapurāṇa[7]

This work has been mentioned only in that list of eighteen Upapurāṇas which occurs in the *Ekāmra-p.*[8] No second mention of this work is found anywhere else, nor have we been able to find out a single Smṛti or non-Smṛti work which draws upon this Upapurāṇa. So, we do not know what its contents were, or when it was composed. Its peculiar title also does not render us any help in these respects. However, its mention in the *Ekāmra-p.* shows that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

4. The Āṅgirasa-upapurāṇa

The title of this work is found included in none of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except that given in the *Ekāmra-p.*,[9] nor does any comparatively early Smṛti-writer, except Gopālabhaṭṭa, draw upon or refer to it in his work. The only verse,[10] which Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes from it in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 677, says that if, being afraid of rebirths, any one pronounces the name 'Vāsudeva', he is sure to become free from these and attain the region of Viṣṇu.

The title of this work and the quoted verse mentioned above indicate that this Upapurāṇa was narrated by the sage Aṅgiras and that it dealt primarily with the praise of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva.

Gopālabhaṭṭa's quotation from this Upapurāṇa and the mention of its title in the *Ekāmra-p.* (which is drawn upon by Gadādhara in his *Kāla-sāra*) show that it was written earlier than 1100 A.D. most probably in Western Bengal or Orissa. As it is not mentioned in any other list of eighteen Upapurāṇas, and as none of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it must have been composed at a date not much earlier than 1100 A.D.

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[1] See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 592-3, 594-5, 420-1; II. i, pp. 875-6; and so on. *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, VIII, p. 264.

[2] See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 602–6. Cf. also *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, V, pp. 152-5, and *Smṛti-candrikā*, IV, p. 406.

[3] See Aparārka's com. on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, pp. 378-379.

[4] See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. ii, pp. 341–3.

[5] See *ibid.*, II. i, pp. 792–804.

[6] *Ibid.*, II. i, pp. 738–740.

[7] The title of this work is peculiar, the word 'ākheṭaka' meaning 'hunter'.

[8-9] For this list see *Ekāmra-p.*, Ch. 1.

[10] *vāsudeveti manuja uccārya bhava-bhītitaḥ |*
tanmuktaḥ padam āpnoti viṣṇor eva na saṃśayaḥ ||

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5. The Auśanasa-upapurāṇa

This Upapurāṇa has been mentioned in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas, except those contained in the *Ekāmra-p.* and the *Bṛhad-dharma-p.* In some of these lists it is mentioned as *Auśanasa*,[1] and in the rest it is called *Uśanaserita* (i.e., the Purāṇa spoken out by Uśanas).[2] In those lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas which Mitra Miśra and Gopāladāsa derived from the *Brahmavaivarta*, this *Auśanasa-upapurāṇa* is called *Śaukra*.[3]

The mention of this Upapurāṇa in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas shows that it was a fairly early work and must have been written before 800 A.D. But unfortunately not a single Smṛti or non-Smṛti work is found to draw upon or refer to it. It is probable that either this *Auśanasa-upapurāṇa* became extinct at an early date, or it became unpopular with the authors of Smṛti and other works from the tenth century A.D.

The *Auśanasa-upapurāṇa* must not be taken to be the same as the *Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa*, which was a much later work. For this *Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa* see below.

6. The Bārhaspatya-upapurāṇa

It is mentioned as the fourth Upapurāṇa in the list of Upapurāṇas contained in the Revā-Khaṇḍa (1. 49) of the *Skanda-p.* No other list contains its name, nor does any commentator or Nibandha-writer draw upon or refer to it. So, we are quite ignorant of its date and contents. According to the Revā-kh., this *Bārhaspatya-upapurāṇa* belonged to the *Vāyu-p.* (*bārhaspatyaṃ caturthaṃ ca vāyavyaṃ saṃmataṃ sadā.—Skanda-p.* V. iii. 1. 49*a*).

7. The Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa

The *Devī-bhāgavata* mentions a *Bhāgavata* in its list of Upapurāṇas, but we have seen elsewhere[4] that this *Bhāgavata* is nothing but the famous Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*, whose position as a Mahāpurāṇa the *Devī-bhāgavata* tried to occupy by calling itself *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*[5] or simply *Bhāgavata*.[6]

The Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya, which mention a *Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa* in their lists of the eighteen principal Purāṇas,[7] include a *Bhāgavata* in their lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. So, it is clear that

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[1] See *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 19 (which derived its list from the *Kūrma-p.*), and *Devī-bhāgavata*, I. 3. 13–16.

[2] For these lists see *Kūrma-p.*, I. 1. 19, *Skanda-p.*, V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa) 1. 50, and VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa), 1. 2. 13, *Garuḍa-p.*, I. 225. 19, *Parāśara-upapurāṇa* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1230), and so on.

For many more lists see *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXI, 1940, pp. 38ff.

[3] See *Viramitrodaya*, Parībhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14, and R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, IX, p. 32.

[4] R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 53. See also my article on the *Devī-bhāgavata* in *The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*; XXI, pp. 48–79.

[5] *Devī-bhāgavata* 1. 2. 11; 3. 34 and 39; and so on.

[6] *Ibid.*, I. 1. 25, 2. 27, 15. 47; II. 12. 2; and so on.

[7] *Skanda-p.* V. iii (Revā-kh.), 1. 31–44— ... *navamaṃ bhagavan-nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam* | ... ; Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 65, Nos. 114–116 (Revā-māhātmya)— ... *tathā bhāgavataṃ nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam* | ... .

The Revā-māhātmya, which claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-p.*, is much the same as the Revā-kh. of the *Skanda-p.*

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according to these two works the *Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa* was quite different from the famous *Bhāgavata-p.* But as in their lists of Upapurāṇas there is mention of the *Kālikā-p.* also (which, as we have said elsewhere,[1] claimed to be the 'original *Bhāgavata*'), we do not know whether this *Bhāgavata* Upapurāṇa of the Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya is the same as the *Devī-bhāgavata* or the *Devī-p.*[2] In the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas, which was derived by Hemādri from the *Kūrma-p.*, there is mention of 'two *Bhāgavatas*'.[3] But as this list contains the name of the *Kālikā-p.* also, we do not know which works are actually meant by these 'two *Bhāgavatas*'.

No *Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa* is drawn upon or referred to by any of the numerous commentators and Nibandha-writers known to us.

8. The Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa

That, besides the *Brahmāṇḍa Mahāpurāṇa*, there was an Upapurāṇa named *Brahmāṇḍa*, is shown by its mention in the majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. It is only in the *Devī-bhāgavata*, *Bṛhaddharma-p.* and *Ekāmra-p.* as well as in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the *Smṛti-tattva* and the *Śabda-kalpadruma* from a text of the *Kūrma-p.* that the *Brahmāṇḍa* is not included among the Upapurāṇas. After giving two lists of Upapurāṇas (one from the *Kaurma Mahāpurāṇa* and the other from the *Brahma-vaivarta*), in both of which there is mention of a *Brahmāṇḍa Upapurāṇa*, Mitra Miśra says that the *Nāradīya* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Upapurāṇas were different from the Mahāpurāṇas of the same titles.[4]

Though, by reason of its mention in most of the comparatively early lists of Upapurāṇas, the *Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa* seems to have been written at an early date, it is not drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Even Mitra Miśra, who distinguishes between the two Purāṇic works named *Brahmāṇḍa*, does not appear to have seen the *Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa* with his own eyes. It is probable that the *Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa* became extinct even before the tenth century A.D.

H. P. Shastri's proposed identification of the *Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa* with the Uttara-kh. of the *Brahmāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa*,[5] does not seem to be convincing. In *Skanda-p.* V. iii (Revā-kh.) 1. 44*a* and in the Revā-māhātmya [6] the *Brahmāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa* is said to have consisted of two parts (bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣita).

9. The Bṛhad-Auśanasa-upapurāṇa

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, nor is it drawn upon or referred to by any comparatively early author. Even among the late Nibandha-writers we have not found one who betrays his knowledge of this Upapurāṇa. So, it seems to have been composed at a

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[1] See *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXII, 1941, pp. 10-11.

[2] For the claim that the *Devī-p.* was the real Bhāgavata, see *New Indian Antiquary*, V, pp. 2–20.

[3] For this list see *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 532-3.

[4] *Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—
upapurāṇāntargate nāradīya-brahmāṇḍa-purāṇe bhinne.

[5] Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Govt. Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to as 'Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*'), V, Preface, p. ccvi.

[6] Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.*, p. 65.

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late period. There are, of course, MSS. of a *Vindhya-māhātmya*[1] which claims to be a part of this Upapurāṇa. As one of these MSS. is dated Saṃvat 1924, our Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than that date.

10. The Bṛhad-Vāmana-purāṇa

A *Vāmana* Upapurāṇa is mentioned in some of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but there is not a single list which mentions the *Bṛhad-vāmana-purāṇa*. None of the comparatively early authors is found to draw upon or refer to this work. It is only in the *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* that six verses have been ascribed to the *Bṛhad-vāmana*. In the first of these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa refers to his indescribable mental condition at the remembrance of his Rāsa-līlā,[2] and in the remaining five, Brahmā speaks to 'Bhṛgu and others' on the glory of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, for the dusts of whose feet Brahmā practised austerities for sixty thousand years.[3] From these quoted verses we understand that this Upapurāṇa was a Vaiṣṇava work and dealt primarily with the sports of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.

As the present *Vāmana-p.* does not contain any of these quoted verses or deal with any topic connected with the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, it cannot be the same as the *Bṛhad-vāmana*. The *Vāmana-upapurāṇa* also, if there were any Upapurāṇa of this title, must be different from the *Bṛhad-vāmana*. The latter, as evidenced by its non-mention in any comparatively early work, must have been written at a late date.

11. The Bṛhad-Viṣṇudharma

This work has not been mentioned in any of the lists known to us, but about eight verses have been quoted from it in Jīmūtavāhana's *Kāla-*

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[1] For MSS. of the *Vindhya-māhātmya*, with the commentary of Vaidyanātha, see Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, V, pp. 745–747, Nos. 4086 (dated Saṃvat 1940) and 4087 (dated Saṃvat 1924), and Mitra, *Notices*, III, pp. 306–8, No. 1285.

According to Mitra the *Vindhya-māhātmya* deals with the 'topography of certain sacred places on the Vindhya Hills, and the religious merit to be acquired by pilgrimage to them'. It also contains the names of the eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas (in Chs. 3 and 4 respectively), the praise of Devī Vindhyavāsinī, Tārakeśvara and the Ganges, the stories of Tārakāsura, of the demons Huṇḍa and Tuhuṇḍa and of Śumbha and Niśumbha, and the description of the method of Devī-worship, which is imbued with Tantric elements.

[2] *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* (ed. Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami, Calcutta), p. 173 (I, No. 531)—

śrī-bṛhad-vāmane—

santi yady api me prājyā līlās tas tā manoharāḥ |
na hi jāne smṛte rāse mano me kīdṛśaṃ bhavet ||

[3] *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, p. 182 (II, Nos. 31-32)—

śrī-bṛhad-vāmane ca bhṛgvādīn prati śrībrahma-vākyam—

ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi mayā taptaṃ tapaḥ purā |
nanda-gopa-vraja-strīṇāṃ pāda-reṇūpalabdhaye ||
tathāpi na mayā prāptās tāsāṃ vai pāda-reṇavaḥ ||

bhṛgvādi-vākyam—

vaiṣṇavānāṃ pāda-rajo gṛhyate tvadvidhair api |
santi te bahavo loke vaiṣṇavā nāradādayaḥ ||
teṣāṃ vihāya gopīnāṃ pāda-reṇus tvayāpi yat |
gṛhyate saṃśayo me 'tra ko hetus tad vada prabho ||

śrībrahma-vākyam—

na striyo vraja-sundaryaḥ putra śreṣṭhāḥ śriyo 'pi tāḥ |
nāhaṃ śivaś ca śeṣaś ca śrīś ca tābhiḥ samāḥ kvacit ||

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viveka, p. 460. As in his *Kāla-viveka* Jīmūtavāhana has drawn upon the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta* also, the *Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma* must be a separate work. It must have been based on the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, because the verses, quoted from it in the *Kāla-viveka*, agree with *Viṣṇudharmottara*, I. 161. 1–8 and have Mārkaṇḍeya and a king (Vajra ?) as the interlocutors.

Jīmūtavāhana's quotations from the *Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma* show that it must have been written not later than 900 A.D. As it was based on the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, it cannot be dated earlier than 600 A.D.

12. The Bṛhad-Viṣṇu-purāṇa

This work is mentioned as *Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava* in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the *Ekāmra-p.*[1] and is drawn upon under the title '*Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.*' in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, *Haribhaktivilāsa*, *Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā* (of Gopālabhaṭṭa), *Bṛhat-toṣiṇī* (of Sanātana Gosvāmin), *Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī* (of Jīva Gosvāmin), *Prāyaścitta-sāra-saṃgraha* (of Ratnākara Miśra),[2] and *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*. In the last-mentioned work, this Upapurāṇa is also named as *Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava*.

Hemādri's knowledge of the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* shows that this work must have been written not later than 1000 A.D. We do not know whether this *Bṛhad-Viṣṇu-p.* was the same as the spurious *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa* known to Vallālasena.[3] This *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa* contained 23,000 verses and was, therefore, an extensive (bṛhat) work.

The *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* was undoubtedly a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the praise and worship of Viṣṇu. In his *Haribhaktivilāsa* Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes, from this work, seven verses which say that the water, which is placed before the eyes of Keśava and is mixed with Tulasī leaves, or with which the Śālagrāma stone has been bathed, is extremely sanctifying,[4] that no twice-born should hesitate to partake of the food and drink offered to Viṣṇu, because such food and drink are never affected by anybody's touch,[5] that the mention of Viṣṇu's name is highly sanctifying and

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[1] For this list see *Ekāmra-p.*, Ch. 1.

[2] Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, p. 579, No. 2530. The MS. is dated 1661 Śaka.

[3] *Dāna-sāgara*, fols. 3*b*-4*a*—

tārkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhmam āgneyam eva ca |
trayoviṃśati-sāhasryaṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam ||
ṣaṭ-sāhasra-mitaṃ liṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā |
dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍamukti-ratnaparīkṣaṇaiḥ ||
mṛṣā-vaṃśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ |
asaṅgata-kathābandha-paraspara-virodhitaḥ ||
tan-mīnaketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām |
loka-vañcanam ālokya sarvam evāvarī (? dhī) ritam ||

[4] *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 449—

bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇe—

tīrthādhikaṃ yajña-śatāc ca pāvanaṃ
jalaṃ sadā keśava-dṛṣṭi-saṃsthitam |
chinatti pāpaṃ tulasī-vimiśritaṃ
viśeṣataś cakra-śilā-vinirmitam ||

[5] *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 495—

bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇe—

naivedyaṃ jagadīśasya anna-pānādikaṃ ca yat |
bhakṣyābhakṣya-vicāraś ca nāsti tad-bhakṣaṇe dvijāḥ ||
brahmavan nirvikāraṃ hi yathā viṣṇus tathaiva tat |
vikāraṃ ye prakurvanti bhakṣaṇe tad dvijātayaḥ ||
kuṣṭha-vyādhi-samāyuktāḥ putra-dāra-vivarjitāḥ |
narayaṃ yānti te viprā yasmān nāvartate punaḥ ||

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beneficial and is able to destroy much more sin than a sinner can commit,[1] and that the muttering of the word 'vāsudeva' can give one final emancipation.[2] In the *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* Viṣṇu is called 'nityāvatāra', 'nitya-mūrti', 'nitya-rūpa', 'nityaiśvarya-sukhānubhū', etc. and Kṛṣna's exploits at Vraja are said to have been described elaborately in the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa*.[3] According to the verse,[4] quoted from the '*Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa*' in Sanātana Gosvāmin's *Bṛhat-toṣiṇī* and Jīva Gosvāmin's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī* on *Bhāgavata-p.*, X. 21. 10, Nanda's wife had two names, Yaśodā and Devakī, and it was for this reason that she had friendship with Devakī, wife of Śauri (Vasudeva). That the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* dealt also with penance, funeral ceremony, etc., is evidenced by its verses quoted in the *Prāyaścitta-sāra-saṃgraha* and the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*. Of these two works the latter has 30 metrical lines on gifts of umbrellas, chowries, mirrors, combs, young cows with calves, female buffaloes, bulls, camels, goats, sheep, etc., to the departed forefathers, the recipients of all these gifts being the Brahmins.[5] In the *Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā* (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108) five verses have been ascribed to the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa*. In one of these verses the Sātvatas have been advised neither to worship the Pitṛs and the gods other than Viṣṇu nor to do any other Kāmya Karman;[6] one verse prescribes the worship of the gods and Pitṛs to those persons who are not Sātvatas; in one verse the sanctifying power of the Cāndrāyaṇa-vrata and the Dvādaśa-vārṣika-vrata has been put forth; and in the remaining two, Viṣṇu has been described as the cause of all kinds of bliss. It is to be noted that in the verse ascribed to the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* in *Satkrīyā-sāra-dīpikā*, p. 46, the word 'rājendra' has been used in the vocative case and that in explaining this verse Gopālabhaṭṭa takes this word to mean 'Yudhiṣṭhira'. So, in the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* somebody spoke to Yudhiṣṭhira on the topics mentioned above.

In his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, II, pp. 68-69 (No. 635) R. L. Mitra describes a MS. of the Karma-vipāka which, in its colophon, claims to be an extract from the *Bhṛgu-saṃhitā* belonging to the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* The date of this MS. is 1687 Śaka (= 1765 A.D.), and in it Bhṛgu speaks to Bharata, son of Śakuntalā, on the diseases and other evils resulting in this life from sins committed in a previous one, as well as on the expatiations meet for their removal.

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[1] *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 661—

sarva-rogopaśamanaṃ sarvopadrava-nāśanam |
śāntidaṃ sarva-riṣṭānāṃ harer nāmānukīrtanam ||

Ibid., p. 658—

nāmno 'sya yāvatī śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharaṇe hareḥ |
tāvat kartuṃ na śaknoti pātakaṃ pātakī janaḥ ||

With this second verse the following Bengali saying can be compared:—

एकवार रामनामे यत पाप हरे ।
जीवेर कि साध्य आछे तत पाप करे ॥

[2] *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 685.— ... *kva japo vāsudeveti mukti-bījam anuttamam.*

[3] *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*, p. 147 (I, No. 397), and pp. 163-164 (I, No. 471—*śrībṛhad-vaiṣṇave—vraje dvāravatīsthasya prādurbhāvo muradviṣaḥ | bṛhadviṣṇupurāṇādāv asakṛd bahudhocyate* ||).

[4] *dve nāmnī nanda-bhāryāyā yaśodā devakīty api |*
ataḥ sakhyam abhūt tasyā devakyā śauri-bhāryayā ||

[5] *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. i, pp. 704, 711, 726-7.

[6] *Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, p. 45—

'na darbha-dhāraṇaṃ kuryāt na ca saṃkalpam ācaret |
na kāmyaṃ sātvato mārgaṃ śaṃbhu-devādi-pūjanam ||

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13. The Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇa (*alias* Bṛhannandi-purāṇa)

This Upapurāṇa has been mentioned as *Bṛhannandīśvara* in *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, I. 25. 24 and as *Bṛhannandi* in *Ekāmra-p.*, Ch. 1. In the list of Upapurāṇas derived from the *Kūrma-p.* in Raghunandana's *Malamāsa-tattva* and in the *Śabda-kalpadruma*, there is mention of the *Nandikeśvara-yugma* (i.e., two *Nandikeśvaras*), which Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on the *Malamāsa-tattva*, takes to mean the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.* and the *Nandikeśvara-p.*[1] From the evidence of the Smṛti-writers of Bengal and Orissa it seems that this Upapurāṇa was written in Bengal between 850 and 1000 A.D.

For further information about this Upapurāṇa see my article on 'The Bṛhannandikeśvara and the Nandikeśvara Purāṇa' in *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 415ff.

14. The Bṛhannarasiṃha-purāṇa

The *Ekāmra-p.* clearly distinguishes between the *Nārasiṃha* and the *Bṛhannārasiṃha* by including the former among the principal Purāṇas and the latter among the Upapurāṇas.[2] In his *Haribhakti-vilāsa* Gopālabhaṭṭa is found to ascribe about a century of verses to the *Narasiṃha-p.* and 63 verses (on Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata) to the *Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.* So, according to Gopālabhaṭṭa also, the *Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.* was distinct from the *Narasiṃha-p.* But as the 63 verses, quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa from the *Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.*, have been ascribed to the *Narasiṃha-p.* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. ii, pp. 41–49, it is probable that either Hemādri took these two Purāṇic works to be identical, or the extract on the Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata occurred in both these works. It should be mentioned here that none of the 63 verses, mentioned above, is found in the present text of the *Narasiṃha-p.*

As the *Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.* has been mentioned in the *Ekāmra-p.*, it must be dated earlier than the eleventh century A.D.

15. The Daurvāsasa-upapurāṇa (*alias* Āścarya-upapurāṇa ?)

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas except those contained in the *Ekāmra-p.* and the *Bṛhaddharma-p.*[3] In some of these lists it is named as *Durvāsasokta* ; the Saura-saṃhitā of the *Skanda-p.* calls it *Durvāsaḥ-saṃprokta* ; and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin names it as *Durvāsaḥ-purāṇa.* In the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Kūrma-p.*, *Garuḍa-p.* and *Skanda-p.* VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) as well as in those lists which are ascribed to the *Kūrma-p.* in the *Malamāsa-tattva*, *Vīra-mitrodaya*, *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* and *Śabda-kalpadruma*, this Upapurāṇa is described as 'durvāsasoktam āścaryam'. We are not sure whether the word 'āścarya' is the title of the Upapurāṇa 'narrated by Durvāsas', or it is merely an adjective denoting the nature of this Upapurāṇa. Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya, in his commentary on the *Malamāsa-tattva*,

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[1] *Malamāsa-tattva* with Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's commentary (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—*nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇaṃ nandikeśvara-purāṇaṃ ca.*

[2] See *Ekāmra-p.*, Ch. 1.

[3] For these lists see *Ekāmra-p.*, Ch. 1 and *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, I. 25. 23–26.

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takes the word 'āścarya' to be the title of the Upapurāṇa 'narrated by Durvāsas'.[1]

According to the Revā-khaṇḍa (of the *Skanda-p.*) and the *Revā-māhātmya* the *Daurvāsasa* Upapurāṇa belonged to the *Bhāgavata* Purāṇa.[2] So, this Upapurāṇa seems to have been a work of the Vaiṣṇavas.

The mention of this Upapurāṇa in all the comparatively early lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it must have been written before 800 A.D. and that it attained great popularity at an early date. As no MS. of this Upapurāṇa or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya, etc., claiming to belong to it, has been discovered as yet, and as none of the commentators and Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it is not possible to say anything about its contents. It seems that this work became extinct even before the tenth century A.D.

16. The Ekapāda-upapurāṇa

It is only the *Ekāmra-p.* which mentions this work in its list of Upapurāṇas. So, it seems to have been written at a comparatively late date. Its mention in the *Ekāmra-p.*, however, shows that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

As none is found to draw upon or refer to it, we are quite ignorant of its nature and contents.

17. The Gāruḍa upapurāṇa

This work is mentioned only in the *Ekāmra-p.* It is probable that by *Gāruḍa* the *Ekāmra-p.* means the present *Garuḍa-p.* which was a much later work than the earlier *Garuḍa*,[3] and which was regarded as a spurious work by Vallālasena.[4]

18. The Kālikā-purāṇa

Besides the present *Kālikā-p.*, there was an earlier *Kālikā* which is now lost. For information about this lost *Kālikā-p.* (probably written between 650 and 750 A.D.) see my article in *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXII, 1941, pp. 7ff.

19. The Kauṣika- (or Kauṣikī-) purāṇa

This work has been mentioned in Bhavānanda's *Hari-vaṃśa*,[5] a popular work composed in Bengali verses in the district of Sylhet or Tipperah sometime between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. According to Bhavānanda, the *Kauṣika-p.* (also called *Kauṣikī-p.* in some of the MSS. of the *Hari-vaṃśa*[6]) contained the following story.[7]

When descending to the earth with the purpose of relieving her of her burden god Nārāyaṇa asked Garuḍa which form he would assume to ac-

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[1] *Malamāsa-tattva* (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—*āścaryam āścaryākhyam.*

[2] *daurvāsasaṃ pañcamaṃ ca smṛtaṃ bhāgavate sadā.*—*Skanda-p.*, V. iii (Revā-kh.), 1. 49*b*, and *Revā-māhātmya* (as described by Aufrecht in his *Bod. Cat.*, p. 65).

[3] See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 141–145.

[4] See *Dāna-sāgara*, fols. 3*b*-4*a*. For the relevant lines of the *Dāna-sāgara* see footnote 3, p. 25.

[5] Edited by Satish Chandra Ray and published by the Dacca University (Dacca, 1339 B.S.), p. 186 (line 7966) and p. 187 (line 7992).

[6] See *ibid.*, p. 187, foot-note 15.

[7] See *ibid.*, pp. 184–187 (lines 7901–7992).

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company him to the land of mortals. Garuḍa was not willing to change his form during such a dangerous period. So, he assured Nārāyaṇa that he would present himself to serve as a mount as soon as Nārāyaṇa would remember him in times of his need. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to remain separated from Garuḍa for a long time. He said to Garuḍa:

'Hear, oh eater of snakes, hear now the wish of my heart. When I shall be passing some time at Gokula as a child, a part of yours will remain with me. You will be born as a cuckoo, (and) I shall constantly hear (your) high, sweet note. When, after my killing of Kaṃsa by going to Mathurā, king Jarāsandha will challenge me to war, I shall remember you on that very day. As you do not agree to accompany me by forsaking this body (of yours), the cuckoo will give up its life without finding me, and all its energy and strength will come into you.'

Now, Nārāyaṇa was born on earth as Kṛṣṇa, and a part of Garuḍa became a cuckoo. In course of time, when Kṛṣṇa was away in Mathurā and Rādhā was pining for him, the cuckoo, being unable to bear his separation, searched for him in all possible places and at last went to Rādhā's house with the hope of finding him there. But dire disappointment was in store for the cuckoo. It gave up its life as a result of the rude shock, and its soul passed to Vaikuṇṭha and entered the body of Garuḍa.

From the mention of Rādhā in the above story as given by Bhavānanda it appears that the *Kauṣika-* (or *Kauṣikī-*) *purāṇa*, known to him, was a Vaiṣṇava work written at a comparatively late period. The total absence of any mention of this Purāṇa in any work other than Bhavānanda's *Hari-vaṃśa* shows that it was a work of local origin and highly limited recognition.

20. The Kūrma-upapurāṇa

A *Kaurma* Upapurāṇa is mentioned in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Revā-kh. (of the *Skanda-p.*) and the *Revā-māhātmya*.

No MS. either of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya, etc., claiming to be a part of it has been discovered as yet, nor is there a single author who is found to draw upon or refer to it. So, we do not know for certain whether there was at all any work called *Kaurma-upapurāṇa*, and, if so, what its date and contents were.

21. The Laghu-Bhāgavata-purāṇa

It is only the *Ekāmra-p.* which includes the name of this work in its list of Upapurāṇas. In his *Haribhaktivilāsa* (pp. 657, 660, 667, 685) Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes from this work six verses on the praise of pronouncing the name of Govinda (or Hari). So, this work must have been written not later than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D. Its title as well as the quoted verses shows that it was a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. In the verse quoted from it in *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 685 the word 'nṛpa' has been used in the vocative case. So, in this Upapurāṇa somebody, whose name is unknown to us, spoke to a king (whose name also we do not know) on the benefits of pronouncing the name of Hari.

22. The Laghu-Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa

In his *Nirṇaya-sindhu*, p. 50, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa quotes two verses from this work with the remark 'atra mūlaṃ cintyam'. As these two verses do not occur in the present *Brahmavaivarta-p.*, the *Laghu-brahmavaivarta* (if at all there was any work of this title) must have been a

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separate work written before 1400 A.D. It should be mentioned here that we do not know any second author who refers to or draws upon this work.

23. The Līlāvatī-upapurāṇa

This work is mentioned only in that list of Upapurāṇas which is contained in the *Ekāmra-p.* No MS. of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya, etc., claiming to belong to it, has been found up to the present time, nor does any Smṛti-writer in any way betray his knowledge of this Upapurāṇa. So, we are in absolute darkness as regards its date, character and contents. We can only say that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

24. The Mādhavī-purāṇa (?)

A verse is found ascribed to a '*Mādhavī-purāṇa*' in Bhairava's *Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha*,[1] which is later than the *Tantra-sāra*. As in no other work known to us there is any reference to or quotation from this *Mādhavī-p.*, we do not know whether there was at all any Upapurāṇa bearing this title. It is highly probable that the reading 'mādhavīpurāṇe' in Bhairava's work is a scribal mistake for 'mādhavīye purāṇe' (meaning 'in a Purāṇa drawn upon in Mādhavācārya's work') and that the verse, ascribed to the '*Mādhavī-purāṇa*', was derived from some work of Mādhavācārya. This probability gains ground when we see that this verse has been quoted in Mādhavācārya's commentary (Bombay ed., I. i, p. 441) on the *Parāśara-smṛti* with the words 'purāṇe 'pi', and that at another place (fol. 1*b*) in the *Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha* a verse (*brahma-murāris tripurāntakārī*, etc. = *Vāmana-p.*, 14. 23) has been quoted with the words 'mādhavīye purāṇe', evidently to mean that the verse was derived from Mādhavācārya's commentary (II. 1, pp. 220-221) on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, where it has been quoted with the mention of the *Vāmana-p.* as its source. The derivation of Purāṇic verses from Mādhavācārya's works with the words 'mādhavīye purāṇe' is not peculiar to Bhairava alone. There are other Nibandha-writers who have used the same words in the cases of some of the Purāṇic verses derived from Mādhavācārya's works.

25. The Māgha-purāṇa

A Purāṇic work of this name has been mentioned in the colophon of a MS. of the *Bāla-gopāla-stuti* ascribed to 'Śrī-paramahaṃsa-parivrājaka-śrīpāda-Bilvamaṅgala'.[2] The words *iti māgha-purāṇe bhagavad-vākyaṃ*, used in this colophon, tend to indicate that the *Māgha-p.* had the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) as one of its speakers. As we have not yet met with any second mention of this Purāṇa anywhere, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents and do not know whether it was the same as the '*Māgha-smṛti*' mentioned by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary on

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[1] Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, p. 342, No. 2225—MS. No. G.5946, fol. 71*b*—

mādhavī-purāṇe—

rātris tu ñayet (? *rātri-sūktaṃ japet*) *smṛtvā*
sarvāṃś ca (? *sarvāṃś ca*) *sukha-śāyinaḥ* |
*namaskṛtvāvyayaṃ viṣṇuṃ samādhistha*ṃ (?°*sthaḥ*)
svapenniśi (? *svapenniśi*) ||

[2] For information about this MS. see O. C. Ganguly in *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, 1932, pp. 285–289.

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the *Bhāgavata-p.* It is, however, sure that this *Māgha-p.* is not the same as the *Māgha-māhātmya* belonging to the *Padma-p.*, Uttara-khaṇḍa.

26. The Māheśa-upapurāṇa

This work has been mentioned in two lists only, viz., those ascribed to the *Brahmavaivarta* in Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* and Gopāladāsa's *Bhakti-ratnākara*. Though derived from the same source, these two lists differ in texts as well as in the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In Mitra Miśra's list both the *Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga* and the *Māheśa* have been mentioned, but in Gopāladāsa's list the *Vāsiṣṭha* and the *Māheśa* have been named, and not the *Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga*. In spite of this difference, we can safely take the *Māheśa* to be different from the *Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga* (which was known as *Vāsiṣṭha* also and perhaps as *Māheśvara* too). It was also not identical with the *Śiva-dharma*, which is mentioned in Mitra Miśra's list under the name of *Śaivadharma*. The mention of the *Śaiva* or *Śaivaka* (i.e., *Śiva-p.*) in the lists of Purāṇas given by Mitra Miśra [1] from the *Viṣṇu-p.* and the *Śrībhāgavata*, shows that this *Śaiva* (or *Śaivaka*) Purāṇa and the *Māheśa* Upapurāṇa were not the same.

As to the date of this Upapurāṇa, we can only say that it must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

27. The Mṛtyuñjaya-upapurāṇa

It is only the *Ekāmra-p.* which mentions a *Mṛtyuñjaya-upapurāṇa*. No commentator or Nibandha-writer is found to draw upon or refer to it. Its mention in the *Ekāmra-p.* shows that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

28. The Nandikeśvara-purāṇa
(also called Nandīśvara-purāṇa and Nandikeśa-purāṇa) [2]

This work, which has been named as one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas in the *Ekāmra* and the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* and drawn upon in the *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* and some other Smṛti Nibandhas,[3] appears to have been written between 850 and 950 A.D.

For further information about this Upapurāṇa see my article on this work in *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 417–419.

29. The Nandi-purāṇa (*alias* Nandī-p., Nandā-p., nānda-p., Skānda-p., Śaukeya-p. and Vāyavīya-p.)

This was an early and widely popular work mentioned in different sources under different titles and written before 700 A.D.

For detailed information about this work see my article in *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, II, 1945, pp. 305–320.

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[1] *Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 12.

[2] The Vaṅgavāsī ed. of the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (I. 25. 24) names the *Nandikeśvara-p.* as *Nandīśvara-p.*; the Bibl. Ind. ed. and the Dacca University MS. No. 4199 (fol. 71*b*) mention it as *Nandikeśa-p.*; and the Dacca University MSS. Nos. 319 (fol. 44*a*) and 4649 (fol. 96*a*) name it as *Nandikeśvara-p.* In the *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* (Dacca University MS. No. 4632, fol. 47*b*) a verse is quoted from the *Nandīśvara-p.*

[3] These include Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka* and *Vāsantī-viveka*, Govindānanda's *Varṣa-kaumudī*, Raghunandana's *Tithi-tattva*, *Āhnika-tattva*, *Jyotis-tattva*, *Ekādaśī-tattva* and *Durgā-pūjā-tattva*, and Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya*.

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30. The Nāradīya-upapurāṇa

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas.[1] In the majority of the lists it is called *Nāradīya*; but in a few it is mentioned as *Nāradokta*, and in one, as *Nāradīyaka*.

According to Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the *Nāradīya* Upapurāṇa is the same as the '*Bṛhannāradīya*'.[2] But this view is not at all acceptable. Had the *Nāradīya* Upapurāṇa and the *Bṛhannāradīya* been identical, there would be at least one list of Upapurāṇas in which the name of the *Bṛhannāradīya* would occur in place of the *Nāradīya*. On the contrary, the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* and the *Ekāmra-p.* mention both the *Nāradīya* and the *Bṛhannāradīya* in their lists of Upapurāṇas.

The *Nāradīya Upapurāṇa* must also not be taken to be the same as the present *Nāradīya-mahāpurāṇa*. The latter was compiled mainly with the chapters of the *Bṛhannāradīya*.[3] Moreover, Mitra Miśra says that the *Nāradīya*, included among the Upapurāṇas, was different from the *Nāradīya-mahāpurāṇa*.[4]

As the *Nāradīya* Upapurāṇa is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas, it must have been a popular work written at an early date. Yet no commentator or Nibandha-writer is found to utilize or refer to its contents. It is highly probable that this Upapurāṇa became extinct quite early.[5] According to the Revā-kh. (of the *Skanda-p.*) and the *Revā-māhātmya*, it belonged to the *Bhaviṣya-p.*

31. The Prabhāsa-purāṇa

This Upapurāṇa is mentioned as *Prabhāsaka* in the list of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Ekāmra-p.*; and from this work Jīva Gosvāmin quotes one metrical line on the praise of the name of Kṛṣṇa in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī*, a commentary on the *Bhāgavata-p.*,[6] and Gopālabhaṭṭa has a complete verse on the same topic in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*.[7] So, this *Prabhāsa-purāṇa* must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. Its non-mention in the other lists shows that it was a comparatively late work.

From the title of this Upapurāṇa as well as from Jīva Gosvāmin and Gopālabhaṭṭa's quotations from this work we understand that it was a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that in it Nārada narrated to (king) Kuśadhvaja what he had heard from Kṛṣṇa. Beyond this we have got no further information about this Upapurāṇa.

The *Prabhāsa-purāṇa* must not be taken to be the same as the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-p.* In the latter work, the lines, ascribed

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[1] For these lists see *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXI, 1940, pp. 38ff.

[2] See Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's com. on the *Malamāsa-tattva* (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛti-bhūṣaṇa), p. 213—*nāradīyaṃ bṛhannāradīyam.*

[3] Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 127ff.

[4] *Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—*upapurāṇāntargate nāradīya-brahmānda-purāṇe bhinne.*

[5] Note, in this connection, the word 'purā' in the line *bhaviṣye nāradoktaṃ ca sūribhiḥ kathitaṃ purā* (occurring in the Revā-kh. of the *Skanda-p.* and in the *Revā-māhātmya*) in which the *Nāradīya* Upapurāṇa has been attached to the *Bhaviṣya-p.*

[6] See *Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī* on *Bhāgavata-p.*, X. 8. 13—*uktaṃ ca prabhāsa-purāṇe—madhura-madhuram etan maṅgalaṃ maṅgalānāṃ.*

[7] *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, p. 689—*prabhāsa-purāṇe nārada-kuśadhvaja-saṃvāde śrībhagavad-uktau—*

nāmnāṃ mukhyataraṃ nāma kṛṣṇākhyaṃ me paraṃtapa |
prāyaścittam aśeṣāṇāṃ pāpānāṃ mocakaṃ param ||

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by Jīva Gosvāmin and Gopālabhaṭṭa to the *Prabhāsa-purāṇa*, are not found, nor is there any interlocution between Nārada and Kuśadhvaja.

32. The Puṣkara-purāṇa

None of the lists of Upapurāṇas contains the name of this work, but nine metrical lines are found ascribed to it in Gadādhara's *Kāla-sāra*,[1] two in Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*,[2] and six in Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (which derives three of its lines from the *Nirṇayāmṛta*).[3] So, this Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D. Its non-mention in the lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it was a comparatively late work.

This *Puṣkara-p.* must not be taken to be the same as the *Padma-p.* None of the quoted verses, mentioned above, is found in the latter work.

33. The Rudra-purāṇa

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas. A verse (on the result of fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi) is found quoted from this work in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*.[4] So, it must have been written not later than 1000 A.D.

The *Rudra-p.* does not seem to be the same as the present *Śiva-p.*, because the quoted verse, mentioned above, smacks of Vaiṣṇavism and does not occur in the latter work.

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[1] *Kāla-sāra*, p. 601—

citrā-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī puṣkara-purāṇe—

kārttike bhauma-vāre tu yadā kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī |
tasyām ārādhitaḥ sthāṇur nayec chivapuraṃ dhruvam ||
yāṃ kāṃcit saritaṃ prāpya kṛṣṇa-pakṣe caturdaśīm |
yamunāyāṃ viśeṣeṇa niyataṃ tarpayed yamān ||
yamāya dharmarājāya mṛtyave cāntakāya ca |
audumbarāya dadhyāya nīlāya parameṣṭhine ||
vṛkodarāya citrāya citraguptāya vai namaḥ |
ekaikasya tilair miśrān trīṃs tu dadyāj jalāñjalīn ||
saṃvatsara-kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ tatkṣaṇād eva naśyati ||

[2] *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, p. 1064—

...puṣkara-purāṇe—

yasya yasya tu devasya yan nakṣatraṃ tithiś ca yā |
tasya devasya tasmiṃś ca śayanāvartanādikam ||

[3] *Nirṇaya-sindhu*, p. 145—

tathā ākāśa-dīpa ukto nirṇayāmṛte puṣkara-purāṇe—

tulāyāṃ tila-tailena sāyaṃkāle samāgate |
ākāśa-dīpaṃ yo dadyān māsam ekaṃ hariṃ prati |
mahatīṃ śriyam āpnoti rūpa-saubhāgya-saṃpadam ||

p. 148—

...tad uktaṃ puṣkara-purāṇe—

svātī-sthite ravāv indur yadi svātī-gato bhavet |
pañca-tvag-udaka-snāyī kṛtābhyaṅga-vidhir naraḥ |
nīrājito mahālakṣmīm arcayan śriyam aśnute ||

[4] *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. ii, p. 152—

rudra-purāṇe—

yaḥ karoti naro bhaktyā ekādaśyām upoṣaṇam |
sa yāti viṣṇu-sālokyaṃ yāti viṣṇoḥ sarūpatām ||

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34. The Śāradā-purāṇa

This Upapurāṇa is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas; but it is drawn upon in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*,[1] Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*,[2] and Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Āḍavalya's *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi* (Kāla-khaṇḍa).[3] So, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.

This Upapurāṇa, as its title shows, was a Śākta work. But the verses quoted from it in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* and the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* relate only to rules about the selection of the proper day and time for taking bath, observing fasts, making donations, etc., on those Ekādaśī and other Tithis which are contaminated with others.

The *Śāradā-p.* must not be taken to be the same as the *Kālikā-p.* In *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. ii, p. 202 and *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, p. 841, the same verses have been ascribed to both the *Kālikā* and the *Śāradā-p.* Nor is the *Śāradā-p.* to be identified with the *Devī-p.* or the *Devī-bhāgavata.*

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[1] *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. ii, p. 202—

śāradā-purāṇe—

dina-karma dine sarvaṃ kartavyaṃ yadi tad dine |
naiva siddhim avāpnoti tadā rātrau vidhīyate || ,

and

kālikā-śāradā-purāṇayoḥ—

svalpaiva dvādaśī yatra snāna-dānādikā kriyā |
rajanyām eva kartavyā dāna-homādi-saṃyutā || ;

pp. 223-4—

śāradā-purāṇe—

upoṣyā dvādaśī śuddhā ekādaśyāṃ dina-kṣaye |
mumukṣubhir daśāviddhā nopoṣyaikādaśī tithiḥ || ;

p. 238—

śāradā-purāṇe—

ekādaśy aṣṭamī ṣaṣṭhī pūrṇamāsī caturdaśī |
tṛtīyā ca caturthī ca amāvāsyāṣṭamī tathā ||
upoṣyāḥ para-saṃyuktā nopoṣyāḥ pūrva-saṃyutāḥ || ;

and p. 286—

śāradā-purāṇe—

purāṇa-nyāya-mīmāṃsā-dharmaśāstrārtha-cintakāḥ |
sadācāra-parā ye vai tad-uktaṃ yatnataś caret ||

[2] *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, p. 776—

śāradā-purāṇe—

ekādaśī tathā ṣaṣṭhī paurṇamāsī caturdaśī, etc.
(same as in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. ii, p. 238);

p. 840—

śāradā-purāṇe—

dina-karma etc.
(same as the first verse in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. ii, p. 202);

p. 841—

kālikā-śāradā-purāṇayoḥ—

svalpaiva dvādaśī yatra, etc.
(same as the second verse in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. ii, p. 202), and

saṅkaṭe viṣame prāpte dvādaśyāṃ pārayet katham |
adbhis tu pāraṇaṃ kuryāt punar bhuktaṃ na doṣakṛt ||

[3] Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, p. 332. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Āḍavalya was a South Indian author and flourished after Raghunandana.

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These two latter Purāṇic works do not contain the verses ascribed to the *Śāradā-p.* in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* and the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*.

35. The Sauradharma

The name of this work has not been included in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us. Yet we have taken it to be an Upapurāṇa for two reasons. Firstly, it has got the form and contents of a Purāṇic work; and secondly, the *Viṣṇudharma*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Śivadharma* and *Śivadharmottara* have been regarded as minor Purāṇas by various authorities.

The *Sauradharma* has been drawn upon in the *Kāla-sāra* (p. 129), *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (p. 733), *Smṛti-tattva* (I, p. 142, and II, pp. 41 and 48), *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (II. i, p. 1000; II. ii, pp. 552–7; and III. ii, pp. 114, 150, 179) and *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* (fol. 39*a*). So, this work cannot be dated later than 1000 A.D. We shall see afterwards that the *Sauradharmottara*, which must have been written later than the *Sauradharma*, preceded Jīmūtavāhana by a few centuries. Hence the *Sauradharma* must have been written earlier than 800 A.D.

The *Sauradharma*, drawn upon by the Smṛti-writers, does not seem to have been the same as the *Saura Dharma* mentioned in *Bhaviṣya-p.*, I. 4. 89. In the former work Vasiṣṭha spoke to king Māndhātṛ, but in the latter Nārada was the speaker.[1]

From the quoted verses we understand that the *Sauradharma* was a work of the Sauras and that in it Sūta reported what he had heard from Vyāsa on the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Māndhātṛ. Most of these quoted verses relate to fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi; and one long extract, quoted in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. ii, pp. 552–7, deals with the Sūrya-vrata, which is to be performed every month from Mārgaśīrṣa by placing a golden image of the Sun on a silver chariot.

36. The Sauradharmottara

This work also, like the *Sauradharma*, should be regarded as an Upapurāṇa, although no writer has called it so. It has been drawn upon in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (pp. 776, 808), *Smṛti-tattva* (II, p. 50), *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (III. ii, p. 249) and *Kāla-viveka* (pp. 432-3, 443, 444, 447). So, it must have been written not later than 900 A.D.

The *Sauradharmottara* does not seem to have been rich in Smṛti-contents. Only a few verses have been quoted in the Smṛti works, and all these verses relate to Ekādaśī-upavāsa.

37. The Saura-purāṇa

Besides the present *Saura-p.* there was an earlier *Saura* which is now lost. For information about this lost *Saura-p.*, see *New Indian Antiquary*, VI, pp. 121–129.

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[1] *Bhav.*, I. 4., 87*b*–89—

aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā ||
viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ śivadharmāś ca bhārata |
kāṛṣṇaṃ vedaṃ pañcamaṃ tu yan mahābhāratam smṛtam ||
saurā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahīpate |
jayeti nāma eteṣāṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||

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38. The Soma-purāṇa

This work is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas nor drawn upon or referred to by any of the commentators and Nibandha-writers. It is only Alberūnī who mentions it in that list of eighteen Purāṇas which he committed to writing from dictation.[1] So, this Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than 850 A.D., otherwise it could not attain so much prominence as to be included among the 'Purāṇas' in Alberūnī's time.

39. The Tvaṣṭṛ-purāṇa

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas. Of the commentators and Nibandha-writers it is only Devaṇabhaṭṭa who is found to quote one verse from this Upapurāṇa in his *Smṛti-candrikā*.[2] So, this work must have been written earlier than 950 A.D.

40. The Ūrdhva-purāṇa

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but it is drawn upon in the *Vākya-ratnākara* of Govinda (son of Gaṇaka Sadāśiva Miśra).[3] So, it must be dated earlier than 1550 A.D.

41. The Uttara-saura

Four metrical lines[4] are ascribed to this work in *Kāla-nirṇaya*, pp. 54-55, *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 92, and *Kāla-sāra*, p. 230. So, this work must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

From the title of this work it appears that it claimed to form the latter part (uttara-bhāga) either of the present *Saura-p.* or of the earlier one. But, as a matter of fact, neither of these two *Saura-purāṇas* is known to have had any such part.

42. The Vāruṇa-upapurāṇa

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas, except that contained in the *Ekāmra-p.* So, it must have been written earlier than 800 A.D. But unfortunately none of the comparatively early Smṛti-writers is found to draw upon or refer to it. It is only the *Ghaṭṭanirmāṇā-*

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[1] Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, I, p. 130— * * * (11) *Soma-purāṇa*, i.e., the moon, * * * .

[2] *Smṛti-candrikā*, V, p. 182—

sarpa-hate tv ayaṃ viśeṣas tvaṣṭṛ-purāṇe darśitaḥ—
sauvarṇa-bhāra-niṣpannaṃ nāgaṃ kṛtvā tathaiva gām |
viprāya vidhivad dattvā pitur āṇṛṇyam āpnuyāt ||

[3] Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, No. 2799, p. 811.

[4] These lines are:—

guror madhyama-saṃkrānti-hīno yaś cāndra-vatsaraḥ |
adhisaṃvatsaras tasmin kārayen na sava-trayam ||
varjanīyā prayatnena pratiṣṭhā sarva-nākinām |
sphuṭa-saṃkrānti-hīnaś cet ke'py āhur adhimāsavat ||

(These lines, as quoted in the *Nityācāra-pradīpa* and the *Kāla-sāra*, differ in readings in some places.)

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dhivāsanotsarga-prayoga of Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa (son of Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭa) which mentions the *Varuṇa-p.* as an authority.[1]

43. The Vāyu-upapurāṇa

We have seen above [2] that the *Vāyavīya*, mentioned in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Smṛti-tattva* and the *Śabda-kalpadruma*, was the same as the *Nandi-p.* Narasiṃha Vājapeyin includes a *Vāyu-p.* among the Upapurāṇas.[3] But we do not know whether this *Vāyu-p.* was the same as the *Vāyavīya* Upapurāṇa mentioned in the *Smṛti-tattva* and the *Śabda-kalpadruma*.

44. The Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta

The name of this work is not mentioned in any of the lists known to us, nor is it referred to or drawn upon in any work except Jīmūtavāhana's *Kāla-viveka*, which has two verses [4] from it on p. 464. The absence of these two quoted verses in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, shows that the *Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta* was a separate work; but its title indicates that it was based on the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

The *Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta* must have been written later than the *Viṣṇudharmottara* but a few centuries earlier than Jīmūtavāhana. Hence it is to be dated between 600 and 900 A.D.

45. The Vṛddha-Padma-purāṇa

This work is mentioned as *Vṛddha-pādma* in Śrī-anantācārya's *Prapannāmṛta*.[5] According to Śrī-anantācārya, this *Vṛddha-pādma* contained stories about Rāmānuja and the Alwar saints of Southern India. So, it seems to have been a late work. It is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas nor referred to or drawn upon by any of the Smṛti-writers, early or late.

46. The Yama-purāṇa

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but five verses have been ascribed to the *Yama-p.* at different places in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*.[6] Though the reading 'padma°' for 'yama°' occurs

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[1] Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, pp. 566-7, Nos. 2513-14. The former MS. is dated Saṃvat 1934.

[2] See under *Nandi-p.* above.

[3] *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18—*yac ca vāyu-purāṇa-devīpurāṇādi tad apy eteṣv antargatam.*

[4] These two verses are the following:—

dvādaśī śravaṇā-yuktā spṛśed ekādaśīṃ yadi |
sa eva vaiṣṇavo yogo viṣṇu-śṛṅkhala-saṃjñitaḥ ||
tasminn upoṣya vidhivan naraḥ saṃkīrṇa-kalmaṣaḥ |
prāpnoty anuttamāṃ ṛddhiṃ punar-āvṛtti-durlabhāṃ ||

[5] *Prapannāmṛta* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.), ch. 73, verses 24–29, and ch. 75, verses 5-6.

[6] *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. i, pp. 23-24—

yama-purāṇe (v. l, *padma-purāṇe*)—

bahutvād iha śāstrāṇāṃ dharma-mūlaṃ śruti-smṛtī |
itihāsa-purāṇāni tasmāt teṣu manaḥ kṛthāḥ || ;

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in two places in some of the MSS. of the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*,[1] and five of the quoted lines are found in the Sṛṣṭi-kh. of the present *Padma-p.*,[2] the name *Yama-p.*, occurring in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, must not be taken to be merely a scribal mistake for *Padma-p.* The existence of a distinct Upapurāṇa named *Yama-p.* is proved definitely by Sūra Miśra who draws upon a *Yama-p.* in his *Jagannātha-prakāśa* (fol. 71*a*).[3] The occurrence of some of the verses of the *Yama-p.* in the Sṛṣṭi-kh. of the present *Padma-p.* must be due either to the utilization of the contents of the latter work by the former, or to the use of a common source by both these works. As a matter of fact, the verse 'āmena vartayen nityaṃ' (of which the second line is the same as *Padma-p.*, Sṛṣṭi-kh., 10. 32*b*) is ascribed to both the *Kūrma-p.* and the *Yama-p.* in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. i, p. 1528.

The verses quoted from the *Yama-p.* show that this work dealt, among other topics, with Vrata, Śrāddha, etc.

Besides the Upapurāṇas mentioned above there must have been others which have perished altogether, leaving no trace of their existence. So, the number of the extinct Upapurāṇas must be much higher than it now appears to be.

The contents of the lost Upapurāṇas, as noted above, indicate that these works dealt primarily, if not exclusively, with social and religious matters and had very little of the five characteristic topics of the principal Purāṇas. The fact that some of these works were written earlier than 700 A.D., shows that serious and widespread attempts to re-establish Hinduism as against Buddhism, Jainism, and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic popular faiths, had begun to be made much earlier than Kumārila-bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarācārya, who were thus not the creators of the movement. But, in view of the number of the Upapurāṇas written after 700 A.D., it must be admitted that the cause, for which these two great scholars and philosophers fought throughout their life, was much advanced by the literary activity and zealous preachings of the Paurāṇikas hailing from different parts of India.

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and p. 568—

lakṣmīm abhyarcya pañcamyām upavāsī bhaven nṛpaḥ |
samānte hema-kamalaṃ dadyād dhenu-samanvitam ||
sa vaiṣṇava-padaṃ yāti lakṣmīr janmani janmani |
etal lakṣmī-vrataṃ nāma duḥkha-śoka-vināśanam ||
iti yama-purāṇoktaṃ lakṣmī-vratam.

Ibid., III. i, p. 960—

yad uktaṃ yama-purāṇe (v. l, *padma-purāṇe* in MS. ख)—
caṇḍālādīn jape home dṛṣṭvācāmed dvijottamaḥ |
śvādīn dṛṣṭvā tathaivāpi karṇaṃ vā dakṣiṇaṃ spṛśet || ;

and p. 1528—

kūrmapurāṇa-yamapurāṇayoḥ—
āmena vartayen nityaṃ brāhmaṇo vyasanānvitaḥ |
tenāgnaukaraṇaṃ kuryāt piṇḍāṃs tenaiva nirvapet ||

[1] See the immediately preceding footnote.

[2] The two verses, ascribed to the *Yama-p.* in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. i, p. 568, are the same as *Padma-p.*, Sṛṣṭi-kh., 20. 63-64; and the second line of the verse ascribed to both the *Kūrma-p.* and the *Yama-p.* in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III. i, p. 1528, is the same as *Padma-p.*, Sṛṣṭi-kh., 10. 32*b*.

[3] Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, p. 137 (No. 2041).

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A NOTE ON BHĪṢMĀṢṬAMĪ OR THE ANNIVERSARY OF BHĪṢMA'S EXPIRY

By P. C. Sen-Gupta

(*Received on 14th December, 1953*)

Bhīṣma was the true Hindu national hero. He was a *Brahmacārin* throughout his life and did not marry to help bring about his father's marriage with Satyavati or Kālī, the adopted daughter of the Dāsarāja. His father's benediction made Bhīṣma capable of controlling his death; he could die on any day only according to his free will. His original name was Devavrata and his great sacrifices made him known as Bhīṣma the dreadful. He did defeat even his preceptor the redoubtable Paraśurama.

The modern *Smṛti Sāstras* declare that the death anniversary of Bhīṣma should be performed on the eighth day of the light half of the lunar month of Māgha. This *Smṛti* rule is derived from the *Mahābhārata* itself as *Śruti* from the words of *Bhīṣma*:

माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तो मासः सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर ।
त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोऽयं शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥

'This lunar month of *Māgha* has (almost) got into the previous year. O, Yudhiṣṭhira, its three-fourths are over; this half month should properly be (or should have been) the light half', is the correct translation of these lines. Here the word, '*Samanuprāpta*' is to be understood in the sense, '*Samanupraviṣṭa*'. I have made a very critical examination of the whole set of *Mahābhārata* data for finding the year of the Bhārata battle—as in my work, '*Ancient Indian Chronology*', pp. 3–9, and in my paper, 'Some Astronomical references from the Mahābhārata and their significance' in the *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. III, pp. 102–105. I was compelled to say that the words of Bhīṣma cited above on which the *smṛti* rule was based, 'was a pious wish not materialized' and that, 'it was clear that Bhīṣma expired on the 8th day of the dark and not the light half of the lunar month of Māgha'. The salient ones of my reasons for the above-mentioned conclusion are set forth in the outline and I hope a succinct statement would bear repetition.

(1) Kṛṣṇa challenged Karṇa to begin the fight on the day of the coming new-moon at the star *Antares* or *Jyeṣṭhā*. But the Bhārata battle did not begin on this day. The last day of the battle was a *Śravaṇā* day. Now after the *Jyeṣṭhā* day, the *Śravaṇā* day would come in 4 or (4+27 =) 31 days. As the battle lasted full 18 days, the interval between the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day and the *Śravaṇā* day was consequently of 31 days. These 31 days thus got divided into 13 days+18 days. This shows that the fight did not begin with the *Jyeṣṭhā* N.M. day, but was begun when the moon was about 14 days old. This was my first reason for setting aside the idea that Kṛṣṇa's challenge was accepted *in toto*. Here we notice that on the day of Bhiṣmā's expiry, the time interval from the *Jyeṣṭhā* N.M. day till the day of Bhiṣmā's expiry was (13+10+58 =) 81 days. There was no fight in the first 13 days, Bhiṣmā's generalship lasted 10 days and Bhiṣmā was on his 'bed of arrows' for 58 days. As one lunar month =

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29·5305881 days, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ lunations = 81·209 days. The 81 days thus comprise $2\frac{3}{4}$ lunations as reckoned from the *Jyeṣṭhā* N.M. day with which began the lunar month of *Mārga* (*Agrahāyaṇa*) in the Battle year.* Hence Bhīṣma expired on the day of the last quarter of lunar Māgha and in the dark and not the light half of the month.

(2) On the night following the 14th day of the Bhārata battle, a crescent moon rose sometime about a quarter of the night, as the Mahābhārata says, before the next sunrise. In my calculation this happened about two hours before the sunrise.* The moon was evidently 27 days old on the 14th day of the battle in the morning. The fight lasted 4 days more. Hence there were after the *Jyeṣṭhā* N.M. day till Bhīṣma's expiry, (27+4+50 =) 81 days. Here Bhīṣma was still on 'bed of arrows' for 50 days after the battle was over. Thus as before Bhīṣma expired on the day of the last quarter of the dark and not the light half of the lunar month of Māgha new-moon ending.

In the face of the evidences stated in the outline given above, it would be wholly wrong to assert that the Bhārata battle was begun on the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon itself and that Bhīṣma expired on the 8th day or the first quarter day of the new-moon ending Māgha and in the light half. Karṇa did not begin the fight at all, he kept himself aloof from the fighting line for the first ten days in which Bhīṣma was the general. Kṛṣṇa did not fight at all, but acted as the charioteer of Arjuna. The fight was begun by Bhīṣma himself. There are, however, some other arguments which show that Bhīṣma expired on the day of the last quarter of the lunar month of Māgha.

The post-battle events of the Pāṇḍava history as found in the *Aśvamedha Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* are:

(*a*) The birth of Parikṣit took place one year after the Bhārata battle was over. His mother Uttarā, gave up taking food in her extreme misery for a considerable period of time. Her childbirth was delayed and she gave birth to an asphyxiated baby who was restored to life by the will-force and benediction of Kṛṣṇa as alleged in the *Mahābhārata*.

(*b*) When Yudhiṣṭhira became king, on termination of the fight, he grew very disconsolate at the staggering loss of life which he thought, was his doing. He was advised to expiate for his sin by performing the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. To meet the necessary expenses he with his four brothers led an expedition to the foot of the Himalayas to fetch gold in an enormous quantity from the place. He with his brothers returned to Hastināpura *one month after the birth of Parīkṣit*.

(*c*) The date for his consecration to the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice was then seriously considered, and Vyāsa declared that Yudhiṣṭhira should get consecrated on the next *Citrā* full-moon day.†

These events point to the conclusion that the date for Yudhiṣṭhira's consecration as the *Citrā* full-moon day was taken most correctly at two years, two lunations and two days after the winter solstice day of the Battle year. Bhīṣma's expiry happened one day after the winter solstice day of the Battle year—it was a well-defined day of the year in those days. The dating of the year was unknown in that period; the days of the months were named as *Jyeṣṭhā* day, *Anūrādhā* day, *Māgha* day, *Kṛttikā* day, etc. cf. Aśoka's Inscriptions.

I. If we now suppose that Bhīṣma expired on the day of the first quarter or the 8th tithi day of lunar Māgha new-moon ending, we cannot

* P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, p. 18, ll. 6–14.

† P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 167-68; also *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. IV, 1938, No. 16, pp. 425-426. *Taittirīya Samhitā* quoted.

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get the said date for the consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira on the *Citrā* full-moon day as set forth below.

The observational year by the method of the *Brāhmaṇas*, viz., the winter solstitial year, was evidently of 365·2422 days, which comprises 12 lunations and 11·0481 *tithis* or equal to 12 lunations+11 *tithis*. In two years there would be 24 lunations+22 *tithis*. Hence if on the day of Bhīṣma's expiry, the day following the W.S. day of the Battle year, the *tithi* was the 8th of the light half of Māgha, in two years on the *same day of the year, the tithi would be* (8+22 =) 30*th*; it would be the new-moon day of *Māgha* ended. Here by the *Brāhmaṇa* * rule the consecration would fall on one day after the *Caitra* new-moon day and not on the *Citra* or *Caitra* full-moon day as settled.

II. If, on the other hand, we take that Bhīṣma died on the last quarter day or the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of lunar Māgha then on the same day, i.e., the day following the winter solstice day, two years later, the moon's *tithi* would be the (15+8+22 =) 45th. It would be the full-moon day Māgha, which would come probably one day later, and the *Citra* full-moon day would come in two more lunations which would be the beginning of the Indian Spring, the true day for Yudhiṣṭhira's consecration to the Aśvamedha sacrifice, as settled by the high priests. Vide *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 32-33.

It is now proved to the hilt that the *Smṛti* rule for the Bhīṣmāṣṭami is totally unjustified, displays utter thoughtlessness on the part of its giver and his total lack of knowledge of Vedic Astronomy as known to the sacrificial high priests the *Brahmāṇas*. Would not our *Pañcāngs* make the necessary change in the Hindu calendars by declaring the day of the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of lunar *Māgha* as the real anniversary day of Bhīṣma's expiry?

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* P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology* and in *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. IV, No. 16, respectively on pp. 163-164 and pp. 422-23, in the work and the paper where the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmana* rule is quoted.

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MADANAPĀLA AND HIS SUCCESSOR

By D. C. Sircar

(*Paper received on 28th July, 1953*)

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently published a note in this *Journal* (Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1952, pp. 117ff.) in which he has examined some of the statements occurring in my article on Later Pāla chronology appearing in a previous issue (Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1951, pp. 27ff.) and tried to show some of these to be 'either unconvincing or altogether wrong.' I propose to discuss the points raised by Dr. Majumdar one by one.

1. As regards the Nepalese manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* copied in Saṁvat 1076 during the reign of *Garuḍadhvaja* Gāṅgeyadeva, Dr. Majumdar says, 'The confident manner in which this statement is made seems to indicate that the reading *Garuḍadhvaja* admits of no doubt and the reading *Gauḍadhvaja* is palpably wrong. Being one of those who adopted the reading *Gauḍadhvaja* and drew important conclusions from it, I was upset by the *ipse dixit* of Dr. Sircar and naturally tried to find out the basis of his views . . . . . I accordingly studied all the available literature on the subject, but could not find anywhere any revised reading of the colophon. I learnt, on enquiry at the Society's Library, that the manuscript in question was still in Nepal and it is not likely that Dr. Sircar had the benefit of a personal inspection of it. In view of all these I think the reading *Gauḍadhvaja* should be accepted as the correct one, until at least Dr. Sircar shows any cogent reason for changing it to *Garuḍadhvaja*.'

Those of us who attended the fourth session of the Indian History Congress, held at Lahore in December, 1940, had an opportunity of examining a photostat copy of the colophon of the said manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* exhibited in the Historical Exhibition arranged on that occasion. The photographic copy of the manuscript was presented by the Nepal Government to Dr. Raghuvira's International Academy of Indian Culture, then at Lahore. On an examination of the colophon it was found that the expression in question quite clearly reads *Garuḍadhvaja* and that Bendall, who did not publish any facsimile of the colophon, must have inadvertently dropped the letter *r* while copying it. Both the facsimile and revised reading of the colophon were published a little over ten years ago by Prof. V. V. Mirashi in his article entitled 'Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti' appearing in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXIII, Poona, 1942, pp. 291ff. I have no doubt that a look at the published facsimile of the colophon, if not at Prof. Mirashi's revised transcript of it (*op. cit.*, p. 293), will be enough for Dr. Majumdar to forego his claim that 'the reading *Gauḍadhvaja* should be accepted as the correct one'.

2. The new inscription of Madanapāla, discovered by me at the village of Valgudar in the Monghyr district of Bihar, bears the date: the 11th day of Jyaiṣṭha in Śaka 1083 (May 4, 1161 A.D.) falling in the eighteenth regnal year of the Pāla king. In my article I took Madanapāla's regnal year 18 to be corresponding to Śaka 1083 (1161-62 A.D.) and suggested that his first regnal year corresponded to Śaka 1066 (1144-45 A.D.). Dr. Majumdar does not believe that the regnal years of the Pāla king coincided with the corresponding Śaka years and points out that

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Madanapāla's accession took place some day between the 5th May, 1143 A.D., and the 4th May, 1144 A.D. He takes '1143-44 A.D. as the date of Madanapāla's accession.' As this has little bearing on the other points raised by Dr. Majumdar, let us provisionally follow his way of calculation (leaving the point to be discussed on a future occasion) and think that the first year of Madanapāla's reign began sometime between May, 1143 A.D., and May, 1144 A.D., and ended sometime between May, 1144 A.D., and May, 1145 A.D.

3. I have little doubt myself that the Gaya inscription mentioning Govindapāla bears a date counted from the year of his accession.

We know that the start of an era in ancient India was usually due to the successors of a dead monarch merely continuing the regnal reckoning of the latter. Govindapāla's reckoning looks exactly like an era in its infancy and it is natural to think that it was created in the usual process. That in Bihar, where only the use of the *atīta-rājya* reckoning of Govindapāla as well as a similar era of Lakṣmaṇasena is noticed, the people regarded the *atīta-rājya* era as an ordinary era (i.e. one created by the continuation of the regnal reckoning of a ruler) is suggested by the fact that in that area sometimes even a year of the Vikrama Saṁvat was attributed to the *atīta-rājya* of Vikramāditya, although there is no tradition tracing the origin of the V.S. from the end of Vikramāditya's rule. See the colophon of the *Śrī-Kālacakratantra* manuscript, preserved in the Cambridge University Library, which reads as follows: *Paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādi-rājāvalīpūrvavat-śrīmad-Vikramādityadevapādānām = atīta-rājye Saṁ 1503 Bhādra-vadi 13 Budhe likhāpit = eyaṁ śrīmat-Bhikṣu-śrī-Jñānaśrīkaiḥ | likhit = eyaṁ Magadhadeśīya-Kansāragrāmaśāsanika-Karaṇakāyastha-śrī-Jayarāmadatten = eti ||* (*J.A.S.L.*, Vol. XVIII, 1952, p. 71). The same view is also suggested by the fact that some dates are associated with Govindapāla without mentioning his *rājya* as past exactly as in the regnal or era reckoning. Compare, e.g., the date *Govindapāladevapādānāṁ Saṁ 37 Śrāvaṇa-dine 14*, found in one manuscript, with (1) *Śrīmat-Lakṣmaṇasenadevasya Saṁ 3* (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1689), (2) *Mahārājasya śrī-Bhīmavarmmaṇaḥ Saṁvat 139* (ibid., No. 1277), etc. The people who dated their records in Govindapāla's years in the above way (i.e., without mentioning his present or past *rājya*) apparently did so without any fear of confusion between the king's present and past *rājya* reckonings. This suggests that they knew only one reckoning of Govindapāla, i.e., his regnal reckoning which the Buddhists of Bihar were inclined to continue in preference to referring to the reign of the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas that ensued in West Bihar immediately after the Pāla king's rule.

4. As we have seen, according to Dr. Majumdar's way of calculation, the latest known year of Madanapāla's reign began sometime between May, 1160 A.D., and May, 1161 A.D., and ended sometime between May, 1161 A.D., and May, 1162 A.D. The Gaya inscription of Govindapāla bears the date: September 22, 1175 A.D., falling, in the opinion which I am inclined to accept as the natural interpretation of the language of the record, in the fourteenth year counted from that king's accession. According to Dr. Majumdar's way of calculation, the first regnal year of Govindapāla thus began sometime between September, 1161 A.D., and September, 1162 A.D. The latest known date of Madanapāla's reign supplied by the Valgudar inscription and the date of Govindapāla's accession (according to the interpretation of the dates associated with this ruler followed by myself) are so close to each other that I felt little doubt that 'Govindapāla was the immediate successor, if not actually the son, of Madanapāla'. It will be seen that, in this case, I was merely supporting,

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with the help of the new evidence at my disposal, the following statement of Dr. Majumdar himself in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 171-72: ' . . . Govindapāla must have ascended the throne shortly, if not immediately, after Madanapāla'. It may also be noted that Dr. Majumdar expresses a similar view on this point elsewhere in the same work. Thus at pp. 175 and 177, the latest date of Madanapāla's reign is taken to be the fourteenth regnal year while at p. 177 the beginning of the reigns of Madanapāla and Govindapāla is assigned to 1140 A.D. and 1155 A.D. respectively. Similarly, some other writers on the history of Bengal (cf. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 369, 385) have represented Govindapāla as the successor of Madanapāla. But Dr. Majumdar believed that Govindapāla's rule did not begin but ended about 1162 A.D. so that the king ascended the throne a few years earlier about 1155 A.D. Now as the Valgudar inscription proves that Madanapāla ruled up to about 1161-62 A.D. and not up to 1154-55 A.D. as suggested in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dr. Majumdar offers the new suggestion that Govindapāla was ruling contemporaneously with Madanapāla. It will be seen that out of his two old suggestions, viz. (1) that Govindapāla ascended the throne shortly or immediately after Madanapāla, and (2) that Govindapāla's rule began about 1155 A.D. and not about 1162 A.D., at least one of which has to be shelved after the discovery of the Valgudar inscription, Dr. Majumdar now discards the former in favour of the latter. But in my opinion the view that Govindapāla's rule ended and not began about 1162 A.D. is based on an unnatural and improbable interpretation of the language in which the dates associated with Govindapāla are expressed. I am, therefore, in favour of the first of the two suggestions which were offered on this point by Dr. Majumdar in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, and have been quoted above. Of course, nobody can rule out the possibility of more than one king of the Pāla dynasty ruling over small areas in different parts of central and south Bihar about the middle of the twelfth century. Whether Palapāla's rule over parts of the Monghyr district sometime probably in the second half of the twelfth century has to be explained on the basis of such a supposition is, of course, a matter of conjecture and cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge.[1] But the evidence at our disposal, as I understand it (cf. also Majumdar's own views in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, and Ray's in the *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, referred to above), suggests plainly that Govindapāla was the successor of Madanapāla. It has to be remembered that a manuscript is known to have been copied at Nalanda (Patna district) during the fourth year of Govindapāla's reign (cf. Banerji, *Vāṅgālār Itihāsa*, 2nd ed., pp. 347-48; *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 112). This manuscript and the Gaya inscription suggest that the Patna and Gaya districts formed parts of the dominions of Govindapāla. The

[1] Dr. Majumdar refers to the independent rule of Yakṣapāla in the Gaya region during the reign of Vigrahapāla III. But, if Yakṣapāla does not mention the name of his Pāla overlord in his inscription, that is clearly explained by the fact that for a time the hold of the Pāla king on parts of Bihar was loosened by the success of the Kalacuris. The image inscription, in which the reference to the 35th regnal year of Palapāla occurs, is said to have been found at Jaynagar in the western part of the Monghyr district. It is not impossible that he was the successor of Govindapāla and that he fell back on East Bihar when Govindapāla lost his life and West Bihar was occupied by the Gāhaḍavālas. Before 1200 A.D., West Bihar was conquered by the Turkish Musalmans who subdued West Bengal about 1202 A.D. East Bihar may have been conquered by the Turks from Palapāla not long after the 35th year of his reign. The end of Govindapāla and Palapāla may thus be tentatively assigned to *circa* 1165 and 1200 A.D. respectively. But we have to wait for further light on the subject.

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inscriptions of Madanapāla have been discovered at Biharsharif in the Patna and at Jaynagar and Valgudar in the Monghyr district (cf. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 175). Dr. Majumdar now exclusively associates Madanapāla with the Monghyr district and Govindapāla with the Gaya district without taking notice of the fact that both the kings are known to have held sway over the Patna district. This fact ignored by him may be regarded as an evidence against the theory that the two kings ruled contemporaneously over different regions.

The Maner inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 214) of 1124 A.D. recording the grant of a piece of land near Patna by Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (*circa* 1114–55 A.D.) and the Lar inscription (*ibid.*, No. 269) stating that the same monarch was stationed at Mudgagiri (Monghyr) on April 15, 1146 A.D. (V.S. 1202, Vaiśākha sudi 3, Monday), show that the Gāhaḍavālas were in occupation of the Patna-Monghyr region. The Biharsharif inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1638) of Madanapāla's 3rd regnal year (Vaiśākha-di 24), corresponding to 1146-47 A.D. suggests that, shortly after the date of the Lar inscription, Madanapāla recovered the said region from the Gāhaḍavālas. The Manahali inscription (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 147ff.) of Madanapāla's 8th regnal year (1151-52 A.D.) records his grant of land in the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* showing that at least wide areas of North Bengal still continued to form a part of his empire. This further shows that Vijayasena, who died about 1158 A.D. (*Hist. Beng.*, p. 210), could not have conquered the whole of North Bengal long before the end of his reign. The Jaynagar inscription (*ibid.*, p. 175) of Madanapāla's 14th regnal year (1157-58 A.D.) points to his hold over the Patna-Monghyr region while the Valgudar inscription suggests the same state of affairs for 1161-62 A.D. The Sihvar inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 369) of 1175 A.D. recording the grant of a piece of land in the Patna district by Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra (*circa* 1170–93 A.D.) and the same king's Bodhgaya inscription (*ibid.*, No. 401) bearing a date about 1183-84 A.D. suggest reoccupation of the Patna-Gaya tract by the Gāhaḍavalas during his rule. But the Gaya inscription (*ibid.*, No. 370) referring to the *gata-rājya* of Govindapāla points to the Gāhaḍavāla occupation of that area by 1175 A.D. The association of Govindapāla's reign, present or past, with localities both in the Gaya and Patna districts suggests that Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra conquered that area from Govindapāla. Under the circumstances, it is quite natural to think that Govindapāla succeeded Madanapāla about 1162-63 A.D. but was ousted by Jayaccandra sometime before 1175 A.D. Dr. Majumdar is thinking of an unlikely possibility of a struggle between Madanapāla and Govindapāla only because his mind is preoccupied by a conjecture that was offered on this point at a time when our knowledge of the subject was more limited. The evidence at our disposal, I am afraid, does not support his new suggestion even in the least.

5. To prove that the expressions *gata-rājya*, *atīta-rājya* and *vinaṣṭa-rājya*, used in connection with some dates of Govindapāla's reckoning, actually indicate the process of counting the years from the end of that king's reign (and not from its beginning as I think is the natural interpretation), Dr. Majumdar now draws our attention to the similarly expressed dates of the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat although no satisfactory interpretation of the latter has as yet been possible. He then quotes the following date from the colophon of a manuscript stated to be preserved in the Kalābhavana belonging to the Hindu University, Banaras:

atīte Lakṣmaṇasena-gata-saṁvat 4 catvāro 3(?) dine.

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Commenting on this he says, 'Now *Lakṣmaṇasena-gata-saṁvat 4* cannot be interpreted to mean year 4 counted from the accession of Lakṣmaṇasena, but when his kingdom was lost; for we know definitely that Lakṣmaṇasena certainly ruled for more than four years.' I agree neither with Dr. Majumdar's reading of the passage in question nor with the conclusion drawn from it. Of course, the reading *catvāro 3 dine* is meaningless and obviously doubtful as normally in such cases the word *dine* is expected to be preceded in the date by the name of the month and followed by the number of the day in the month. But what is considerably more important in the present case is the number of the year written after the word *saṁvat*. From the published facsimile it can be plainly seen that, although Dr. Majumdar reads *ca* immediately after *4*, there is a figure between the two, which has been ignored by him but looks like the *aṅkuśa* type of *9*. Whatever, therefore, may be the correct reading of the portion read by Dr. Majumdar as *catvāro 3*, the number of years written before it and after the word *saṁvat* appears to be 49 and not 4 as read by him. There is no difficulty with a date in the *gata* year 49 of king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal as he ruled for about twenty-one or twenty-seven years only. It should, however, be pointed out that the association of the Lakṣmaṇasena-Saṁvat or *La-Saṁ* with the Sena king is extremely doubtful as the initial year of the era falls in the first quarter of the twelfth century (between 1107 and 1119 A.D.) long before Lakṣmaṇasena's reign falling in *circa* 1179–1206 A.D. Moreover there is as yet no clear evidence to show that Lakṣmaṇasena's dominions included any part of Bihar where only the use of the *La-Saṁ* has been traced. On the other hand, Minhāj-uddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* seems to suggest that Bihar lay outside the Sena kingdom. Even a date in *La-Saṁ 4* is, therefore, not likely to prove the correctness of Dr. Majumdar's views.

Postscript

When it was found, on an examination of the published facsimile of a portion of the manuscript lying in the Kalābhavana of the Hindu University, Banaras, that the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, I was eager to examine the original. Although I failed in securing the manuscript on loan from the authorities of the University, it was a matter of satisfaction to me to receive in November, 1953, through the kindness of Dr. R. B. Pandey of the College of Indology (Hindu University), a photograph and an eye-copy of the date portion of the manuscript in question. The eye-copy is stated to have been prepared by the draftsman of the Kalābhavana under the supervision and guidance of Dr. Pandey himself and of Mr. P. L. Gupta of the Kalābhavana. I am grateful to both Dr. Pandey and Mr. Gupta for their kindness. My thanks are also due to the draftsman who has drawn the signs as best as he could make them out on the original. Comparing the eye-copy with the photograph, I can detect only one case where the eye-copyist may have erred. It is in regard to the second sign in the name of Lakṣmaṇasena. The eye-copy shows the sign as *kva* while in the photograph I can read *kṣa* (for *kṣma*). There are one or two unsatisfactorily preserved signs in the photograph, about the tracing of which in the eye-copy I cannot be quite sure.

The photograph received by me shows some signs in the date portion slightly different from those in Dr. Majumdar's facsimile while the eye-copy clearly demonstrates the many errors in his reading of the date.

The three signs before *dine*, which have been read by Dr. Majumdar as *tvāro 3* (although, as pointed out above, the name of a month is expected

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here), are quite clearly *Ākhāḍa*. *Kh* of the type employed here occurs in Bühler's Table VI, column XIV, line 16. There is absolutely no doubt that *Ākhāḍa* stands for Sanskrit *Āṣāḍha*. The manuscript was apparently copied in Mithilā as the pronunciation of *Āṣāḍha* as *Ākhāḍ* = *Ākhāṛ* (cf. also Wilson's Glossary, s.v. *Āshāṛh*) and the use of the *La-Saṁ* are both popular in that region. The use of *ḍ* for *ḍh* in *Āshāḍha* is not only a familiar error in the documents of different parts of India, but is also in full accord with East Indian pronunciation. The number following *dine* is *8* of the type of Bühler's Table IX, section at the right lower corner, line V. Thus the reading of the passage in question is clearly *Ākhā(ṣā)ḍa(ḍha)-dine 8* and certainly not *tvāro 3 dine* as read by Dr. Majumdar.

Between *Saṁvat* and *Ākhāḍa-dine 8*, there are three signs, the first of them being a clear *4*. The value of the second and third signs are doubtful. Dr. Majumdar has ignored the second sign and read the third as *ca*. I have said above that the sign following *4* may be a form of 9; but it seems to have more resemblance with *7* as found in lines 45, 46, 54 and 56 of the Sāhitya Pariṣad Plate of Viśvarūpasena (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 140ff. and Plates). The third sign looks unlike *ca* in my photograph. The eye-copy makes it a clear *śa* of the Devanāgarī type, although a Gauḍīya *śa*, differing considerably from the Devanāgarī form of the letter, is expected in the manuscript in question.

It is not possible to be definite as to the reading of the number after *Saṁvat* with the help of the material at our disposal. But it is tempting to suggest that the number has been written in three figures, i.e., *4* followed by two other figures. This would, however, place the date of the manuscript in the fifth century of the *La-Saṁ*. But palaeography seems to suggest an earlier date. Under the circumstances, we may think of other possibilities. If the third sign is really *śa* as suggested by the eye-copy, the intended reading may be *Saṁvat 47 śe* which may be regarded as a contraction of *Saṁvatsare saptacatvāriṁśe*. It may also be supposed that the *śa* of the eye-copy had been written by the scribe wrongly for *ā* of the following *Ākhāḍa* but was later rubbed out by him.

It will be seen that I am not sure about the reading of the year of the *La-Saṁ* when the manuscript in question was copied. But there can be little doubt that Dr. Majumdar's reading of the passage as *Saṁvat 4 catvāro 3 dine* is out of question and that his interpretation of the date as *La-Saṁ 4* is unjustifiable.

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Photograph of the colophon of the Kalābhavana manuscript.

श्रीतिलकेयमनगतमस्य ऽपश्चाशद्वित्त

Eye-copy of the date portion of the Kalābhavana manuscript.

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MANUSCRIPTS OF IBN BAṬṬŪṬA'S *REHLA* IN PARIS AND IBN JUZAYY

By Mahdi Husain

(*Received on 14th December, 1953*)

The Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris possesses five manuscripts of the *Rehla* in *maghribi* character, only two of which are complete. The first two manuscripts—2290 and 2291—each containing a part combined to make a third complete one but there is no relationship between these in respect of handwriting or the date. The opening three pages of the *first* manuscript 2290 which only contains the first half of the *Rehla* are very beautiful and decorated in gold and the rest is handsomely bordered. The *écriture* on the title-page on being translated runs as follows:

(*a*) 'The book of travels of the learned Shaikh Abū Abdullah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim of Lawata and Tangier known as Ibn Baṭūṭa; may God the exalted have mercy on and be pleased with him. Āmin!

(*b*) By turn and through disposal of destiny this book has come into the hands of God's poor slave Sālim ibn al-Hājj Yahya of Fez by means of proper purchase, the price having been paid. This took place on the first of Sha'ban, the year 1212.'

The script on the first page which is handsome, bold and a quasi-Kufi handwriting of Morocco embodies no novel piece of information. It contains the same text as is found in the French edition of the *Rehla*, Vol. I, p. 2.

The total number of leaves in this manuscript are 199; but the writing, although legible and large, is not always free from mistakes and omissions. It was finished in the month of Safar 1134 Hijra, i.e. December, 1721 A.C.

The *second* manuscript 2291 which comprises the second part of the *Rehla* is much older than the manuscript 2290, and bears the year 757 Hijra as the date of writing. According to M de Slane it is an autograph of Ibn Juzayy. The *écriture* (*a*) on top of the fly-leaf on being translated runs as follows:

'Praise to God! His slave Muhammad al-maghribi (has acquired this) by purchase through divine grace and paid the price from his own money. May God bless him out of His mercy!'

(*b*) in the middle (i) a signature—

'The slave of God Ash-Sharif Idrisi; may God forgive him!'

(ii) 'Praise and gratitude to God; having incurred arrears of rent about the month of Jumāda-al-ākhar year 1232 he (tenant) gave up the house and left behind this book as part payment of his dues.'

From the above *écrit* (*b*) (ii) it appears that this manuscript was at one time the personal property of a certain Muhammad who had purchased it from someone else. Pressed by poverty he was compelled to part with the manuscript. This took place in April 1817 (Jumāda II, 1232).

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However, this manuscript 2291 is so old and affected by moisture that in certain parts the script has been completely obliterated, e.g. at the top of the folios 47–50; and three-fourths of the first three lines in many a page are effaced. An attempt appears to have been subsequently made to restore the original and reproduce the effaced words but with no great success. The handwriting in the first three leaves (1–3) is very beautiful but deteriorates in the course of the next twelve (4–16) and further still in the succeeding twenty-three (16–39). From folio 39 to 68 the ink varies also. For instance, the ink on leaf 39 and on the following leaves differs from that of the preceding leaves; also the folio 69 and the succeeding folios vary slightly from the preceding ten in this respect. Altogether there are 110 folios and the last two are written in a running-hand.

On the whole it may be said that this manuscript is not in its original form. And apart from the pages replaced and inserted subsequently it would appear that Ibn Juzayy who is supposed to have written out the rest set his hand to writing at different times, with different pens, and in different moods.

From the opening sentence [1] on the first page of this manuscript it would appear that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was dead before this manuscript was written and that Ibn Juzayy outlived him. But I am inclined to think that this page was subsequently inserted by someone else since at the end of the manuscript is found the following *écrit* of Ibn Juzayy:

'Here ends what I have abridged from the composition of Shaikh Abū Abdullah Muhammad ibn Baṭūṭa; may God exalt [2] him!'

It should be noted that the wish—*may God exalt him*—is made only for a living person.

The *third* manuscript 2287 which is also shown as 909 bears an *écrit* on the fly-leaf. Its translation runs as follows:

'An excellent book for the readers regarding the wonders of cities and the marvels of travels'.

Praise to Allah! This is the book of travels of Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Baṭuṭa of Tangier: may Allah have mercy on him! His timing is the first third of the 8th century or rather the beginning of the 8th century, the period of Bani Marin. And when he returned from his travels of the east to the west he found Abū Inan al-Marin as ruler in the west. And he named the Rehla as *T'uhfat-un-Nuzzār Fi Gharaib-il-Amsār wa Ajaib-il Asfār*—an excellent book for the readers regarding the wonders of cities and the marvels of travels. It was finished in the year 756.

This is a complete manuscript, very clear and legible. The folios are worm-eaten in some places; for example, on the top of the leaves from 37 to 58. But on the whole the manuscript is immune from deterioration. The closing words on the last page contain the phrase [3]—Ibn Baṭuṭa—may God have mercy on him—a phrase which is used for the deceased. It follows that this manuscript was written after the death of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa. It appears to have been a copy of the 17th century A.C.

The *fourth* manuscript 2288 looks very old. It has been affected in parts by moisture and obliterated. Some pages bear on the margin correc-

[1] قال الشيخ ابو عبد الله محمد ابن ابو عبد الله ابن محمد بن ابراهيم اللواطى الطنجى المعروف بابن بطوطه رحمه الله

[2] اكرمه الله

[3] ابن بطوطه رحمه الله

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tions made by a different hand, for instance on page 7; one-half of page 8 is torn and has been replaced by a blank paper. The page 93 seems to have been written by a different man or by a different pen. Its writing varies from that of the preceding pages of this manuscript. The manuscript ends abruptly on page 159 and its last few pages are missing.

The *fifth* manuscript 2289 bears a seal together with a date—'19 Aout 1874'—on the fly-leaf. This is the date of the acquisition of the manuscript. The next page bears on the margin and in red ink an *écrit* which on being translated runs as follows:

> 'This manuscript was bought by one Mustafa ibn Kochak Ali in the year 1236 and the price for it was duly paid.'

This is a complete manuscript well-preserved and beautifully written and it is comparatively free from omissions and mistakes. Its closing words when translated, run as follows:

> 'Here ends the Rehla called *Tuhfat-un-nuzzār fi-gharaib-il-Amsār wa 'ajāib-il-asfār* the composition of which was completed on 3rd Dhilhijja 756 . . . . And the copyist Muhammad ibn Ahmad—may Allah cure him of all ailments—finished it early on Saturday, 11th Safar, 1180.'

It should be noted that all the above manuscripts have 'Baṭūṭa', and not 'Baṭṭūṭa'. But I have reason to believe that the popular form of 'Baṭūṭa'[1] still in usage in Morocco is 'Baṭṭūṭa'.

As in the case of 'Baṭūṭā' the said manuscripts have the name 'Juzayy' without a *tashdīd*; in fact, it should be pronounced as Juzayy (جزى) like Somayy (سمى) with a *tashdīd* on the final letter.

'Juzayy' was his family title and 'Ibn Juzayy' his patronymic, while his own name was Abū Abdullah Muhammad. He belonged to the Bani Kalb tribe of Arabia although his ancestors had settled in Spain since 712/93. Later his grandfather Abul Qasim Muhammad ibn Juzayy by name was appointed tutor to Lisan-ud-din Khaṭib, the renowned minister of Muhammad the faqih—the scholar king of Granada (1273/671–1302/701). His father Muhammad ibn Ahmad who died at Granada in 1341/742 in full enjoyment of his reputation as a scholar and author left behind three sons—Abū Bakr Ahmad, Abu Abdullah Muhammad and Abū Muhammad Abdullah. The second son Abu Abdullah Muhammad commonly known as Ibn Juzayy—the editor of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa's *Rehla* was born at Granada in October, 1321/Shawwal, 721. About 1343/744 when he was

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[1] I understand that the natives of different parts of North Africa differ in their pronunciation and orthography of this term. Some pronounce and spell it as 'Batuta' contending that 'buṭūṭa' was originally 'būṭūṭa' (بوطوطة); that 'ṭūṭa' signifying a tassel, 'buṭūta' meant a tasselled man and that Ibn Būṭūṭa connoted the son of a tasselled man. Others pronounce and spell it as 'Baṭuṭa' contending that Baṭūṭa—literally an egg-shaped bottle—being a term for a bad woman Ibn Baṭūta connoted the son of a woman with an ellipsoidal body. But I cannot support these contentions. I have been informed that 'Baṭṭūta' is still the family name in some parts of North Africa. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions one Abul Qasim Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn Baṭṭūṭa as his paternal cousin at Ronda. To my own knowledge there is a gentleman called Muhammad Farid al-Baṭṭūṭi now living in Egypt. Bṭṭṭūṭi, I think, is another form of Baṭṭūṭa and might likewise be a family name. As regards its etymology I am of opinion that 'baṭṭa' (بطّ) meaning a duck-like flask, temper and slitting an ulcer or 'baṭṭaṭ' (بطّ) meaning a dealer in birds is the root of Baṭṭūṭa.

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twenty-two he entered the service of Abu al-Hajjaj Yusuf I, the seventh king of the Bani Ahmar dynasty of Granada, and was appointed to a civic post which he held until two years after the death of his royal master (1354/555). He incurred the displeasure of the succeeding king Muhammad V (1354/755–1359/760) who punished him severely. Smarting under a sense of wrong and cherishing a grievance against the latter, Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Juzayy left Spain for Morocco where he was employed by Sultan Abu 'Inān Marīni as literary secretary. This post he held right up to his death which is said to have occurred at Fez in October, 1356/Shawwal, 757. He was a man of great parts and profound learning—a poet, a historian, a philologist, a theologian and a traditionist. He wrote many works—one being *Kitāb-ul-anwār fi nasab-i-āl-i-nabi-il-mukhtār*—a study in the lineage of the House of the Prophet—which tends to show that he was a Shiā or had leanings towards Shiā belief. Besides he was an unrivalled calligraphist and is said to have surpassed Ibn Muqla the famous Arab calligraphist. Such qualities and accomplishments as he possessed being then in request, Sultan Abū 'Inān Marīni entrusted him with the task of arranging the *Rehla*—an event embodied in the following prelude from his pen:

> 'Among those who have come to seek abundant favours at this sublime court there is a certain shaikh and jurist Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim of Tangier commonly known as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and as Shams-ud-din in the countries of the east—a truthful and reliable narrator and an explorer of countries. He travelled round the earth and overseas studying and gaining experience and contacted different and various peoples of Arab and non-Arab stocks. Then he set to rest his baton of journeys and arrived at this sublime court . . . . The king showered on him favours to such an extent that he forgot his hardships of the tours and decided to undertake no more journeys being satisfied with the magnanimity and high generosity of this king. And his Majesty ordered him to dictate an account of the countries he had seen, the anecdotes he could recall and the stories of the kings, scholars and saints he had met. Accordingly he dictated an account of his adventures comprising many wonders as well as marvellous, charming and useful stories abounding in novelties.
>
> This done His Majesty commanded the faithful and highly devoted servant of his—Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Juzayy al-Kalbi—to connect together the pieces dictated by Shaikh Abū 'Abdullah and to weave them into a composition highly beneficial and attractive and set the same off without deviating from the original. That is, I should bring it out enhancing its beauty and utility in such a manner that it might captivate every heart and prove illuminative, interesting and useful to all kinds of readers at all times and places.
>
> I lost no time in carrying out the command and setting my hands to the task with divine assistance, I exhibited Shaikh Abū Abdullah's thoughts and ideas in clear and impressive language. While doing so, often I kept intact the words and phrases in the same order as he had dictated without the slightest alteration. And I reproduced all the anecdotes and stories which he had narrated without bothering myself about their accuracy since he himself had taken great care indicating the doubtful things and incidents narrated as dubious. In order to heighten the merits of this book by virtue of its accuracy and orthography I have fixed the reading of the names of places and persons and have explained all the foreign words as much as I could

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lest their unusual shape should prove a stumbling block to the reader and lest attempts at explaining these through analogy should prove abortive.'[1]

On the basis of the above statement it has been contended that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Rehla* is entirely the work of Ibn Juzayy and that it 'does not contain the language of the traveller'. It is further contended that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa having lost all his notes[2] he dictated his travels out of his dim memory. This alleged loss of notes is a fallacy.[3]

It should be noted that the words املى يملى used in the above text mean 'dictation' but not necessarily dictation from memory. And the fact that Ibn Juzayy acknowledges the writing and composition (تقييد) of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as the basis of the abridged *Rehla* shows that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa possessed his notes which he arranged and even amplified at Fez presenting finally the same as a composition.

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[1] MS. 2287, F. 3. Cf. Def. et Sang, I, pp. 8–12.

[2-3] The probability is that the notes which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had been taking all along were not completely lost or if lost were reproduced immediately with some lacuna; this will account for certain insufficiency in the data of his itinerary. Perhaps he liked to be misunderstood on this point; and that is why he says not a word about his immediately re-writing the notes if they were lost. Perhaps he desired to have the credit for possessing a prodigious memory, which he could not have enjoyed if the secret about the notes had been disclosed to the reader. Regarding the things—the epitaphs of Bukhara—which he could not recover and reproduce, he openly acknowledges the loss. Says he, 'At Bukhara I visited the tomb of the learned imam Abu 'Abdullah al-Bukhāri, author of the *al-Jāmi' as-Sahih* and chief of the Muslims, and there was an epitaph bearing the author's name—Muhammad Ibn Ismail al-Bukhari—together with the title of his works. It is customary at Bukhara to epitaph the ulama's names together with a list of their works. I copied many of these epitaphs *which I lost among all* other things when the infidel pirates of India robbed me.' *But he says not a word about losing also the notes of his earlier travels. Nor does he mention this kind of loss in connection with his report of the attack by the pirates, under which head he expresses sorrow exclusively for being robbed of the money he had collected and of all that he had hoarded against the day of adversity— jewels, rubies, clothes and provisions'.*

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THE SVARGA-KHAṆḌA OF THE PADMA-PURĀṆA— A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

By Asoke Chatterji

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The interest of scholars in the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* was first created by Vihari Lal Sarkar, who, in his *Śakuntalā-rahasya*, a little book written in Bengali in 1896, tried to prove that the Śakuntalā episode of this Khaṇḍa was the source of Kālidāsa's famous drama *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*. A few years later Prof. M. Winternitz of Prague (Germany) expressed his inclination for the same view in his *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Vol. I (1908), p. 454 and Vol. III (1922), p. 215, but said in a note:

> 'It will not be possible to decide the question of the source of the Śakuntalā drama finally, as long as we do not possess a reliable text of the *Padma-purāṇa*, and as long as it is not possible to make a thorough comparison of the two texts, in which one would have to consider also the question whether the author of the Purāṇa may not have made use of Kālidāsa's drama'.

In accordance with Prof. Winternitz's suggestions, Prof. Haradatta Śarmā began, in 1923, his critical study of the stories of Śakuntalā and Rāma Dāśarathi as occurring respectively in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-śakuntala* and *Raghu-vaṃśa* on the one hand and the Svarga-khaṇḍa and Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* on the other, and in 1925 brought out his booklet entitled '*Padma-purāṇa and Kālidāsa*', in which he tried to establish by a critical comparison of the texts that Kālidāsa utilized the *Padma-purāṇa* as his source. As this view, though differing from that of H. H. Wilson,[1] has attained wide circulation and given to the Svarga-khaṇḍa a garb of considerable antiquity, we shall examine this Khaṇḍa below and try to determine its position in the history of the Purāṇic literature.

A careful examination of the printed editions and manuscripts of the *Padma-purāṇa* shows that this work has come down to us in two distinct recensions, viz., Bengal and Devanāgarī. According to the text now occurring in Bengal manuscripts, it has got five constituent parts called Khaṇḍas, viz., Sṛṣṭi, Bhūmi, Svarga, Pātāla and Uttara, none of which has been printed as yet, but in the Devanāgarī manuscripts the work is found to consist of six parts or Khaṇḍas, viz., Ādi, Bhūmi, Brahma, Pātāla, Sṛṣṭi and Uttara, of which the Ādi and the Brahma-khaṇḍa have nothing in common with the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension. All the six

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[1] See Wilson, *Essays—Analytical, Critical and Philological*, Vol. III, p. 40.
In his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 140, S. K. De also says: 'The *Padma-purāṇa* version is perhaps a recast of Kālidāsa's story, and there is no reason to think that Kālidāsa derived his material from the Purāṇa, or from some earlier version of it'.
It is to be noted that these opinions of Wilson and De are mere suggestions without any evidence adduced in their support.

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Khaṇḍas of the Devanāgarī recension have been printed and published on more occasions than one. In some of the manuscripts of the Ādi-khaṇḍa of the Devanāgarī version we find the reading 'adya svargam ahaṃ tāvat' in place of 'ādi-sargam ahaṃ tāvat',[2] but this reading, which is clearly meant for passing the Ādi-khaṇḍa separately, or the Ādi and the Brahma-khaṇḍa jointly, under the title 'Svarga-khaṇḍa'[3] in order to give these Khaṇḍas an air of authenticity and antiquity, is evidently wrong. It only refers to the first creation of the Universe, a topic dealt with in the immediately following verses of the Ādi.

Though remaining unrecognized in the Devanāgarī recension of the *Padma-purāṇa*, the Svarga-Khaṇḍa[4] of the Bengal recension is a distinct text of varied interest. It begins with a few introductory verses, in which it is stated that terrestrial geography (bhūgolaṃ, bhūmeḥ saṃsthānaṃ)

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[2] See the so-called Svarga-khaṇḍa (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition), 1. 18.

[3] In the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition of the *Padma-purāṇa* the Ādi-khaṇḍa is named as Svarga-khaṇḍa, although it reads 'ādi-sargam ahaṃ tāvat, etc.'. In the Vaṅgavāsī Press edition and in some manuscripts of the *Padma-purāṇa* the Ādi and the Brahma-khaṇḍa have been put together under the title 'Svarga-khaṇḍa'; and in *Nāradīya-purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition) I. 93. 14–19*a* the contents of the present Ādi and Brahma-khaṇḍa have been given under the title 'Svarga-khaṇḍa'.

[4] Our present analysis of this Khaṇḍa is chiefly based on the Dacca University MS. No. 1625, a transcript copy of which we had from Dr. R. C. Hazra. This MS. is complete in 86 folios and is written in Bengali script on mill-made paper dated 1810 A.D. It was procured from Suri in the district of Burdwan, and in it the work consists of 40 chapters.

There are also other MSS. of this Khaṇḍa, viz.,

(i) Asiatic Society (Calcutta) MSS. Nos. 4416 and 4416A, for description of which see Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, pp. 198 (No. 3462) and 202 (No. 3470). These two MSS., which look fresh and are complete, are written on 'country-made paper' in Bengali characters 'of the nineteenth century'.

(ii) Bodleian Library (Oxford) MS. Cod. No. 114, for description of which see Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, p. 13, No. 52.

(iii) National Library (Calcutta) MS., which is not numbered.

(iv) Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad (Calcutta) MS. No. 757. See Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Calcutta), p. 74.

(v) Two MSS. (numbered 17 and 1514 respectively in the hand-written list) in the possession of Dr. J. B. Chaudhury, Secretary, Vaṅgīya Saṃskṛta Śikṣā Pariṣad, Government of West Bengal.

Of these two MSS., the former is much damaged, and has lost its first two folios containing verses 1–45 of Chapter 1, and the latter, which is complete in 105 folios and ends with the lines

'yatnena likhitaṃ granthaṃ yaś corayati mānavaḥ |
mātā ca śūkarī tasya pitā tasya ca gardabhaḥ ||
śrīr astu lekhake pāṭhake ca |'

following the final colophon, has a wrong numbering of its folios from fol. 22, which, before correction by a later hand, was numbered 20.

It should be mentioned here that all the MSS. mentioned above are written in Bengali script of the nineteenth century A.D. and present a text which consists of 40 chapters and agrees almost completely with that of the Dacca University MS. There are, of course, a few lines here and there in the different MS. which are not found in the Dacca University MS. For instance, MS. No. 1514, lying in the possession of Dr. J. B. Chaudhury, has on fol. 38*b* the following three additional lines:—

'śiloñchavṛttayo ye vai dantolūkhalakāś ca ye |
ye 'yajñāś ca munayaḥ śīrṇaparṇāśinaś ca ye ||
grīṣme pañcāgni-tapaso varṣāsu sthaṇḍileśayāḥ |

(See also fol. 74*b* of this MS. and fols. 73*b* and 74*a* of the Asiatic Society MS. No. 4416A for a few more additional lines.) But such lines are generally not of any importance for our purpose.

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was dealt with in the immediately preceding Khaṇḍa (viz., Bhūmi-khaṇḍa), that this matter was originally spoken out by Śeṣa-nāga to the sage Vātsyāyana, and that the interlocution between Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana was reported by Vyāsa to Sūta's father, from whom Sūta must have heard it. The mention of Śeṣa-nāga and Vātsyāyana as interlocutors in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa as preserved in the Bengal manuscripts as well as in all the printed editions (which represent the Devanāgarī version), Vātsyāyana's reference to the contents of the preceding Khaṇḍas in which Śeṣa is said to have spoken to him on the creation and destruction of the universe, terrestrial and celestial geography, details of luminaries, and other matters, and the fact that in the present texts of the Sṛṣṭi and the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa (as found in the Devanāgarī manuscripts and the printed editions) there is no mention of Śeṣa-nāga and Vātsyāyana, tend to show that our Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension of the *Padma-purāṇa* preserves an earlier tradition about the interlocutors of the *Padma-purāṇa* that has been eliminated from the present Sṛṣṭi and Bhūmi-khaṇḍa. It can, therefore, be expected that in the Svarga-khaṇḍa, which preserves the older sets of interlocutors, there are chapters from an older form of the work. As a matter of fact, a careful study of the Svarga-khaṇḍa shows that there are two main stages through which the text of this Khaṇḍa has come down to us. In the first stage it was a non-Vaiṣṇava work belonging probably to the Agnihotrins of the *Yajurveda* who praised Sūrya and Agni and identified the latter with Rudra. It is remarkable that in chapter 8, which describes the regions (loka) of Bhānumat (i.e., the Sun), Mahendra and Agni, the muttering of Gāyatrī and the performance of sacrifices have been praised, special attention has been given to the Fire-god, and a story of Rudra's birth as Agni Vaiśvānara has been narrated, but there is no mention of Viṣṇu except in a single line towards the end, in which Rudra has been advised by Brahmā to worship Viṣṇu (tapasā viṣṇum ārādhya viharasva yathā-sukham). Even in the description of the Sun and the praise of Gāyatrī in this chapter, the name 'Āditya' (and not 'Viṣṇu') occurs, thus showing the original immunity of this Khaṇḍa from Vaiṣṇava influence. The absence of Vaiṣṇava influence is also to be found in some of the other chapters (such as ch. 11); and in chapter 8 there is a story which states that in a previous Kalpa Brahmā practised severe austerities by muttering the Rudra-sūkta for many thousands of years with the object of having Mahādeva as his son and that the latter fulfilled his wishes in the Vārāha Kalpa. It can be little doubted that this story aims at giving to Mahādeva a position superior to that of Brahmā, the highest deity of the original *Padma-purāṇa*, from whom Rudra is said in the *Vāyu* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* to have been born in the Vārāha Kalpa.

That verses, extracts or even complete chapters (with later modifications) have been retained in the present Svarga-khaṇḍa, is indicated not only by chapter 8 and a few others in which Vaiṣṇava influence is absent or negligible, but also by the occurrence of the word 'munisattama' in the vocative case in verse 3 of chapter 7 in which Sunanda, a messenger of Viṣṇu, speaks to king Bharata. We have already said that in its earlier form the Svarga-khaṇḍa was spoken out by Śeṣa-nāga to sage Vātsyāyana, and it is probable that verse 3 of chapter 7 has been incorporated in Sunanda's speech without changing the word 'muni-sattama' to 'nṛpa-sattama'. However, these earlier portions have been modified or mixed up with the later ones in such a way that it is now extremely difficult to find them out.

It is remarkable that even in its earlier form the Svarga-khaṇḍa is not found to have been utilized by any writer, early or late, although

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numerous verses have been quoted by Smṛti-writers and others from the Sṛṣṭi, Pātāla and Uttara-khaṇḍa. This fact is to be explained by saying that the Svarga-khaṇḍa originally dealt only with terrestrial geography and myths and legends and did not contain any chapter on Smṛti matter.

The second stage of the Svarga-khaṇḍa was due to the activities of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavas, who introduced the story of Bharata and described him as a Mahābhāgavata (i.e., a great devotee of the Bhagavat). According to this story, Bharata, son of Duṣmanta and Śakuntalā, ruled his kingdom with great success and performed many sacrifices in honour of various gods. He practised severe austerities for the pleasure of Hari, and at last the latter was pleased to send an attendant, Sunanda by name, to take Bharata to Vaikuṇṭha. As soon as Sunanda reached Bharata, there came messengers from Indra, Sūrya, Candra, Kuvera, Śiva, Varuṇa, Yama and others to take Bharata to their own regions. Though repeatedly requested by these messengers to accompany them to their respective places, Bharata sent away all of them except Sunanda, whom he requested to speak on the heavenly regions—their position, extents, inhabitants, etc. Consequently, Sunanda spoke, in chapters 6–14, about the position and dimensions of the planets, the names, position, distance and inhabitants of the different Lokas (viz., Bhūr-loka, Bhuvar-loka, etc., as well as Vaikuṇṭha, Śiva-loka, Guhyaka-loka, Gandharva-loka, Vidyādhara-loka, Apsaro-loka, and many others), and so on, and incorporated into his speech, as we have already seen, fragments from an earlier form of the Svarga-khaṇḍa.

Besides the chapters mentioned above, there are also many others which were added to the Svarga-khaṇḍa during its Vaiṣṇava recast. These are especially the chapters or sections dealing with Smṛti matters, which bear unmistakable stamps of late dates. On the other hand, a few chapters of the earlier Svarga-Khaṇḍa must have been eliminated during this recast. This is evidenced by certain references contained in the Svarga and the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. For instance, in chapter 24, verse 3 of the Svarga-khaṇḍa Śeṣa says to Vātsyāyana:

'yayāter nahuṣasyāpi caritaṃ kīrtitaṃ tava'

'I have described to you the conduct of Yayāti and Nahuṣa also',

and in Pātāla-khaṇḍa, chapter 1, verses 6-7, Vātsyāyana refers to the contents of the Svarga-khaṇḍa saying:

'tatrāneka-mahāpāpa-harā rāma-kathā kṛtā ‖
tasya vīrasya rāmasya hayamedha-kathā śrutā |
saṃkṣepato mayā tvattaḥ . . . . . ‖'

'There (i.e., in the Svarga-khaṇḍa) you have narrated the Rāma-story which destroys manifold great sins. I have heard from you in brief the story of the horse-sacrifice of that hero, Rāma . . . . . '

But it is specially remarkable that the Svarga-khaṇḍa contains no chapter or section on any of these topics.

We have already referred to the Śakuntalā episode as occurring in Svarga-khaṇḍa, chapters 1–6. This episode is a part of the story of Bharata, which, as we shall see below, is of a very late origin and was put into the Svarga-khaṇḍa at the time of its revision by the Vaiṣṇavas. So, it is not correct to say that Kālidāsa borrowed this episode from the Svarga-khaṇḍa. It is the Svarga-khaṇḍa which is undoubtedly the borrower. It became almost a custom with the Purāṇic writers to utilize the contents of, or plagiarise extracts or verses from, the writings of great poets of old.

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For instance, the compiler of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* has used Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Raghu-vaṃśa*,[5] the *Śiva-purāṇa* has utilized the ideas and language of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṃbhava*[6] and *Raghu-vaṃśa*;[7] and the *Śiva-purāṇa*, as preserved in the Bengal manuscripts, has, in its Uttara-khaṇḍa (chs. 13–18), the story of the birth of Skanda which is clearly based on that of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṃbhava*. There are also evidences to show that the authors of many other Purāṇas borrowed ideas and expressions even from Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*,[8] Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*,[9] and so on. It is not at all probable that powerful writers like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha used so many Purāṇas as their respective sources; on the other hand, it admits of little doubt that these Purāṇas found the writings of the established poets very helpful to them. The latter possibility gains ground when we see that all these Purāṇas are works of comparatively late origin and could not have been utilized by the above-mentioned writers. An investigation into the date of the present Svarga-khaṇḍa and the various sources utilized in it, will show that this work also does not form any exception to the general practice of the Purāṇas and that it derived materials from Kālidāsa's works and not *vice versa*.

That the Svarga-khaṇḍa in its present form is a very late work, can be proved by various evidences, internal and external. It mentions the '*Sīma-veda*',[10] '*Atharva-śiras*',[11] 'Āraṇyaka-śāstras',[12] 'Itihāsa',[13] (i.e., *Mahābhārata*), '*Bhāṣya*'[14] (i.e., Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*), etc., and seems to refer to the *Manu-smṛti*[15] and the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata.[16] It knows and names the twelve zodiacal signs (rāśi),[17] which do not appear to have been known in India down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*.[18] On several occasions it speaks on the new order of Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī,[19] an order which was unknown to the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* and the latest books of the *Mahābhārata* but came to be accepted as an established fact in all parts of India during the time of Varāhamihira, the famous astronomer

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[5] Cf. *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (ed. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay), I. 133 with *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act III; and *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, I. 135, 26–33 with *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act IV.

[6] Cf. *Śiva-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition), Jñāna-saṃhitā, 2. 7, 10 and 33ff. with *Kumāra-saṃbhava*, 3. 72ff.

[7] Cf. *Śiva-purāṇa*, Jñāna-saṃhitā, 18. 34–38 with *Raghu-vaṃśa*, 7. 5ff.

[8] Cf. *Śiva-purāṇa*, Jñāna-saṃhitā, 63. 21ff. with *Kirātārjunīya*, 3. 6ff.

[9] For instance, the present *Kālikā-purāṇa* has derived many of its ideas and expressions from Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṃbhava* and Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*. For full treatment of this subject see Dr. V. Raghavan in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, pp. 191–5. See also Raghavan in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 332 and 337.

[10] Svarga-khaṇḍa 29. 32 (on fol. 65*a*), and 30. 20 (on fol. 68*a*).

[11] *Ibid.*, 35. 26 (on fol. 79*a*).

[12] *Ibid.*, 27. 14 (on fol. 62*a*).

[13-14] *Ibid.*, 35. 30 (on fol. 79*b*)—

ye cetihāsaṃ prayatāḥ śrāvayanti dvijottamān |
ye ca bhāṣya-vidaḥ kecid ye ca vyākaraṇe ratāḥ ||

[15] Cf. *ibid.*, 1. 21 (on fol. 2*a*)—dharma-tantre yathā manuḥ.

[16] *Ibid.*, 7. 17 (on fol. 14*a*). The word 'nāṭya-śāstra-viśāradāḥ' most probably means 'proficient in the dramatic science'.

[17] *Ibid.*, 14. 24–30 (on fol. 37*a*).

[18] According to P. V. Kane, the date of composition of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* is to be placed between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. See Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, Vol. I, pp. xxviii and 184.

[19] See Svarga-khaṇḍa 11. 41 (on fol. 27*a*), 11. 56 (on fol. 27*b*), and 14. 25 (on fol. 37*a*—aśvinyādika-tārāṇām).

It should be mentioned here that the old order of Nakṣatras, prevalent in India from the Vedic times, was from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī.

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of the sixth century A.D. By its use of the word 'vāra' (meaning 'week-day') in verse 10 of chap. 7, this Khaṇḍa clearly betrays its knowledge of the names of weekdays, the earliest dated mention of one of which was traced by J. F. Fleet in the Eran Inscription of 484 A.D.[20] Tulasī, whose mention in Sanskrit literature as a sacred plant connected with Vaiṣṇavism is rather late, has been glorified in this Khaṇḍa on two occasions, in one of which this plant has been deified and placed in the same rank with prominent goddesses like Sāvitrī, Durgā, Mahālakṣmī and Sarasvatī[21] and in the other it has been called a form of Viṣṇu.[22] Rādhā has been mentioned once (in chap. 29, verse 56 on fol. 65*b*) and said to have been dearer to Kṛṣṇa than his own life. The Śālagrāma stone has been praised on several occasions[23] as a medium of Viṣṇu-worship and once said to be identical with Viṣṇu himself. Further, by its reference to the view that Vāsudeva was born to Devahūti as Kapila,[24] this Khaṇḍa seems to point to *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed.) III. 21–33 in which the story of Viṣṇu's birth to Devahūti as Kapila has been narrated at length. It recognizes the performance of Tantric rites and ceremonies even by Brahmins,[25] prescribes the Tantric method in Viṣṇu-worship,[26] includes the Tantric Yantra (diagram) among the mediums of worship,[27] introduces Tantric elements (such as bhūta-śuddhi, nyāsa, etc.) into the method of Viṣṇu-worship,[28] and knows the Pāṣaṇḍī (or Āgamic) Śaivas who are said to have initiated people to Tantric Śaivism, to have transgressed all bounds of the Vedic Dharma, and to have drunk wine.[29] By its mention of Śiva's curse that His residence (purī) at Benares would be replaced by a new one in the Kali age,[30] this Khaṇḍa seems to betray its knowledge of the destruction of the Śiva-temple of Benares by Muslim invaders. In chapter 16, as we shall see hereinafter, it gives the story of Bhagīratha's birth with certain

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[20] See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 88-89.

[21] Svarga-khaṇḍa, 29. 56 (on fol. 65*b*).

[22] *Ibid.*, 13. 74 (on fol. 35*a*)—'vṛkṣeṣu tulasī bhavān' (said to Viṣṇu by Dhruva).

[23] *Ibid.*, 29. 66ff. (on fol. 66*a*), and 13. 75 (on fol. 35*a*).

[24] *Ibid.*, 15. 107 (on fol. 40*a*)—

tataḥ kruddho mahābhāga kapilo munisattamaḥ |
vāsudeveti yaṃ prāhur devahūti-sutaṃ prabhum ||

[25] *Ibid.*, 28. 8-9 (on fol. 63*b*)—

grāma-preṣyo vikarmā ca yo dvijaḥ caritāc cyutaḥ |
vedān api japan śūdraiḥ samaḥ sa parikīrtitaḥ ||
kṛtyeṣu varjanīyo 'sau daivike (? vaidike) tāntrike'pi ca |

[26] *Ibid.*, 10. 9 (on fol. 23*a*)—

. . pūjayet madhusūdanam |
tantroktena vidhānena . . . . . ||

[27] *Ibid.*, 29. 66 (on fol. 66*a*)—

śālagrāme manau yantre pratimāyām jale sthale |
go-pṛṣṭhe vā gurau vipre praśastam arcanaṃ hareḥ ||

[28] See *ibid.*, 29. 80ff. (on fol. 66*b*).

[29] *Ibid.*, 33. 24-25 (on fol. 76*b*)—

tac chrutvā nandi-vacanaṃ bhṛgur brahma-kulaṃ prati |
śaśāpa roṣa-tāmrākṣaḥ śaivān prati mahātapāḥ ||
śiva-dīkṣāṃ prākurvanto bhavantu cchadma-veśinaḥ |
pāṣaṇḍinaḥ sarva-dharma-parityaktāḥ surābhujaḥ ||

[30] Svarga-khaṇḍa, 23. 91-92 (on fol. 56*a*)—

kalau naiva purī sthātā cāntardhānaṃ gamiṣyati |
antarhite pure tasmin punar anyad bhaviṣyati ||
evaṃ vārāṇasīṃ śaptvā niveśaṃ punar āgataḥ |
cakāra mandare vāsaṃ devo devyā sahomayā ||

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innovations which we know from the testimony of other works to be undoubtedly of late origin. Thus, the present Svarga-khaṇḍa cannot be dated earlier than the fourteenth century A.D., and this late date of this part of *Padma-purāṇa* seems to be supported by the fact that not a single Smṛti-writer, early or late, is found to refer to or draw upon this Khaṇḍa although it contains a number of chapters on Smṛti topics. The lack of Magian influence in the story of Saṃjñā as contained in chapter 11 (verses 83ff., on fols. 28*a*–30*a*) need not be taken to go against the above date of this Khaṇḍa, because this story has been taken *verbatim* from the *Skanda-purāna* (Kāśī-khaṇḍa, I. 17. 68ff.).

The late date, to which we have assigned the present Svarga-khaṇḍa, does not, however, mean that no part of the *Padma-purāṇa* entitled 'Svarga-khaṇḍa' existed before that date. We have already said that the present Svarga-khaṇḍa has passed through two main stages, that some extracts and verses and the interlocution between Śeṣa-nāga and Vātsyāyana have been retained in the present Svarga-khaṇḍa from the earlier form of this work, and that its second stage was due to the activities of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavas, who subjected this Khaṇḍa to a destructive recast resulting in its present form and character. We have also mentioned that in both the recensions of the *Padma-purāṇa* the Pātāla-khaṇḍa begins with an interlocution between Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana and refers to the interlocutors and contents of the preceding Khaṇḍas including the Svarga-khaṇḍa. Now, the present Pātāla-khaṇḍa has been repeatedly drawn upon by Gopālabhaṭṭa in his *Haribhakti-vilāsa*.[31] So, there can be no doubt that a Svarga-khaṇḍa existed much earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. (after which, as we have stated above, this Khaṇḍa passed through its second stage).

A careful examination of the Svarga-khaṇḍa shows that it is more a compilation than an original work. It has derived a large number of chapters and isolated verses from the *Mahābhārata*,[32] *Rāmāyaṇa*,[33] *Manusmṛti*,[34]

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[31] The verses quoted from the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* have all been traced by Dr. R. C. Hazra in Pātāla-khaṇḍa (ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona), chapters 84–89, 91–94 and 96. For a list of these traced verses, see Hazra, *Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 306-307.

[32] For instance, compare—

Mahābhārata, i. 72. 18*b* and 73. 1–12*a*, 13–17*a*, 17*b*–21*a*, 22*b*, 23.	with Svarga-khaṇḍa,	chapter	1.
,, i. 73, 24–34	,,	,,	2.
,, i. 74. 21–24, 25*a*–58*a*, 60*a*, 67–71, 73–78, 80-81.	,,	,,	3.
,, i. 74, 82–97, 101*a-b*, 102-103, 106–108.	,,	,,	4.
,, i. 74, 118*b*–121, 124, 125–128, 129, 131.	,,	,,	6.
,, iii. 200-201	,,	,,	17.
,, iii. 130ff.	,,	,,	18.
,, vii. 55	,,	,,	19–22.
,, xiv. 4-5	,,	,,	28.
,, xii. 63	,,	,,	28.

[33] Compare, for instance,—

Rāmāyaṇa (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) vii. 9	with Svarga-khaṇḍa,	chapter	10.
,, vii. 10. 6ff.	,,	,,	10.
,, vii. 11ff.	,,	,,	11.

[34] Compare, for instance,—

Manu-smṛti, 7. 20 with Svarga-khaṇḍa, 36. 15 (on fol. 80*a*).

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Skanda-purāṇa (Kāśī-khaṇḍa),[35] etc. The story of Śakuntalā, as given in Svarga-khaṇḍa, chapters 1–6, is nothing but a reproduction of the *Mahābhārata* story modified with the ideas and language of Kālidāsa's famous drama *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*. As this story has maximum agreement with the language and details of the Śakuntalā story of the *Mahābhārata*, we cannot agree with M. Winternitz, H. H. Wilson and others when they say that this story, as occurring in the Svarga-khaṇḍa, follows more, or is a recast of, that given in Kālidāsa's drama. As regards the description of the Guhyaka-loka and the stories of Piṅgākṣa (a Brahmin), Saṃjñā (wife of Sūrya), Dhruva (son of king Uttānapāda) and Divodāsa (king of Kāśī) of the Svarga-khaṇḍa it is evident that they are more or less reproductions of those given in the Kāśī-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, the peculiarity being that the compiler of the Svarga-khaṇḍa has tried to efface the Śaiva stamp out of these. For instance, the story of Divodāsa of the Kāśī-khaṇḍa (i. 8), which is a very long one in comparison with that of the Svarga-khaṇḍa, contains high praise of Kāśī and of Śiva-liṅgas established there by different persons, but in the Svarga-khaṇḍa the compiler has effaced the Śaiva stamp to a very great extent and also introduced innovations at places. As these changes are not many and vital, it must be admitted that the author, or rather compiler, of this Khaṇḍa has contributed little to its making.

The Svarga-khaṇḍa, in its present form, is undoubtedly a work of Bengal. All the manuscripts of this Khaṇḍa available so far are written in Bengali script and have been discovered in Bengal. Among the rivers to be summoned during bath this Khaṇḍa includes the names of the 'Padmāvatī', 'Svarṇarekhā' and 'Kauśikī'.[36] Of these three rivers the first, generally called 'Padmā', originated in Bengal at a comparatively late period from a channel connecting the waters of the Ganges with those of the Yamunā and the Brahmaputra and is found mentioned and glorified in the works of Bengal and Kāmarūpa only;[37] the second, better known as Suvarṇarekhā, is a small river in the western part of the Midnapur district of Bengal; and the third, popularly called 'Kośī', a tributary formerly to the Karatoyā and later on to the Ganges, once marked the boundary between Bengal and Mithilā. The mention of these rivers and their glorification as highly sacred like the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī and Sarasvatī, show that the Svarga-khaṇḍa could not be written by any one other than an inhabitant of Bengal. Further, the etymological explanation of the name 'Bhagīratha' and the peculiar story of Bhagīratha's birth, as contained in chapter 16 of the Svarga-khaṇḍa, are found only in the works of Bengal. This story is as follows:

Dilīpa, the illustrious king of the Solar race, died sonless. Being eager for a male issue his two widowed wives approached their family

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[35] Compare, for instance,—

Skanda-purāṇa, Kāśī-khaṇḍa (Vaṅgavāsī ed.)—

i. 8. 15ff.	with Svarga-khaṇḍa, chapter	7.
i. 12. 16*b* ff.	,, ,, ,,	9.
i. 17. 68ff.	,, ,, ,,	11.
i. 19. 12, 23*b* ff.; 30*b*-36, 51*b* ff. ..	,, ,, ,,	12.
i. 43. 8–10*a*, 11ff.	,, ,, ,,	23.

[36] See Svarga-khaṇḍa, 29. 54 (on fol. 65*b*)—

viṣṇupādārghya-sambhūtā gaṅgā tripatha-gāminī |
padmāvatī bhogavatī svarṇarekhā ca kauśikī ||

[37] For various works referring to, or giving accounts of, the river Padmā, see Niharranjan Roy, *Vāṅgālīr Itihās*, Adi-parva, pp. 99–103.

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priest Vaśiṣṭha in his hermitage and requested him to see that 'the line of Sagara' might continue. Vaśiṣṭha plunged into a deep meditation and then assured the queens saying:

'The line of Manu will not come to an end, O fine-eyed ladies. I foresee that a great son will be born to you, O auspicious ones. So, I shall make the best efforts for your sake'.[38]

Vaśiṣṭha then performed a Putreṣṭi sacrifice and prepared a kind of highly powerful food called 'Caru', which he gave to the queens with the advice that one of them was to take that Caru and the other was to have sexual union with her, behaving like a male.[39] The queens did so, and in course of time the elder of them gave birth to a boneless son, who was no better than a lump of flesh, as is usual in the case of union of females. Being born from the union of only the organs of generation (bhaga) of females, this son was named Bhagīratha.[40] He began to grow up and learnt all the Vedas in his boyhood; but, having no bones in his body, he had an ugly look and crooked limbs. One day, when going to his teacher's house for Vedic study, Bhagīratha met the sage Aṣṭāvakra on the way and bowed down to him. Although Bhagīratha's limbs were deformed and unsteady and his words faltering by nature, the sage rushed into a fury and said:

'If thou hast bowed down to me by showing the crookedness (of thy body) with the intention of ridiculing me, then thou shalt be reduced to ashes by my words, and not otherwise. If (on the other hand), this crooked figure has been natural to thee, then mayest thou attain a beautiful appearance and become strong immediately'.[41]

As soon as the sage uttered these words, Bhagīratha turned strong, heroic and beautiful like Cupid.

It is to be noted that it is only in Kṛttivāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*,[42]

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[38] Svarga-khaṇḍa, 16. 10*b*-11 (on fol. 41*a*).

[39] *Ibid.*, 16. 12-13 (on fol. 41*a-b*)—

* * vaśiṣṭho 'tha śrapayāmāsa mārīṣa |
caruṃ sarva-guṇopetaṃ putreṣṭi-vidhinā dvija ||
uvāca te mahābhāge ekayā prāśyatāṃ caruḥ |
tasyāṃ puruṣa-bhāvena maithunāya pravartatām ||

[40] *Ibid.*, 16. 15-16*a* (on fol. 41*b*)—

jātaḥ kumāraḥ puṃsas tu yad ayaṃ retasā vinā |
tenāsthihīno jāto 'sau māṃsa-piṇḍa iva dvija ||
bhagīratheti tan-nāma jāto yad bhaga-mātrataḥ |

[41] Svarga-khaṇḍa, 16. 19*b*–21 (on fol. 41*b*).

[42] See ed. Pūrṇa Candra De (Calcutta, 1926), Ādi-kāṇḍa, section 12 (pp. 23-24). According to this work god Śaṅkara, being sent by Brahmā and other gods, came down to Ayodhyā, met the two widowed wives of Dilīpa, blessed them with a son, and instructed them to unite mutually for the purpose. The queens did so, and one of them gave birth to a boneless male child which was no better than a lump of flesh. Being disappointed at the sight of this deformed issue, the queens were going to throw it into the waters of the Sarayū, when Vaśiṣṭha stopped them from doing so and advised them to leave it on the road. The queens did accordingly, and the child was endowed with a beautiful figure by the curse of Aṣṭāvakra who chanced to come there on his way to the river.

As to the cause of Bhagīratha's name, this work also says:

भगे भगे जन्महेतु भगीरथ नाम ।

See also Dinesh Chandra Sen's edition (9th ed.), p. 23 (which lacks the line giving the etymological explanation of Bhagīratha's name).

In Kṛttivāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi-kāṇḍa, edited by Dr. Nalini Kanta Bhattashali and published by the Dacca University in 1936, the story of Bhagīratha's birth from

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Bhavānanda's Harivaṃśa,[43] and some other comparatively late works of Bengal[44] that we find this story of Bhagīratha's birth, which thus appears to have originated in this province and attained great popularity here at a comparatively late period. The use of the root 'vas' in the sense of sitting in Svarga-khaṇḍa, 13. 35 is notable in this connection.

We have already said that the present form of the Svarga-khaṇḍa is due to a revision of this part by the Viṣṇu-worshippers, who were undoubtedly Bhāgavatas as indicated by a number of passages contained in it. For instance, in chapter 1, verse 11 (on fol. 1*b*) and chapter 5, verse 74 (on fol. 11*b*) Bharata (*alias* Sarvadamana) is called a Mahābhāgavata for his devotion to Viṣṇu; so also is Dhruva, son of king Uttānapāda and a great devotee of Viṣṇu, in chapter 12, verse 83 (on fol. 33*a*); in chapter 7,

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the mutual union of his mothers is found to have been given only in MS. ख (see Ādi. kāṇḍa, pp. 90–92). This story, which differs considerably from that of the Svarga. khaṇḍa, does not say that Vaśiṣtha performed any Putresti sacrifice to ensure the birth of a son to the widowed wives of Dilīpa, nor does it make any mention of the sage Aṣṭāvakra or of his meeting with Bhagīratha. On the other hand, it is said that Brahmā brought about the sexual union of the widowed queens Candrā and Mālā with the active help of Madana and that Bhagīratha was born with a normal body and not as a boneless lump of flesh. As regards Bhagīratha's name this story also says:

भगे भगे सम्भोग जे ताथे उपगत ।

ब्रह्मा देव युद्‌लेन नाम भगीरथ ॥

[43] Edited by Satish Chandra Roy and published by the Dacca University in 1339 B.S., p. 59, verses 2437-38

दिल्लीपेर दुइ स्त्रीये जानि सब तत्त्व ।

दुइजनेर संयोगे जन्मिला भगीरथ ॥

For this verse, MSS. क, ख, and घ (used in this edition) read:

दुइ स्त्रीर भगे भगे करिले प्रहार ।

जन्मिल सन्तति भगीरथ नाम तार ॥

For this second verse see also Gaṅgā-govinda Śarman's ed. (p. 99) which was published in 1321 B.S.

According to Satish Chandra Roy, Bhavānanda's *Harivaṃśa* was composed in Sylhet or Tipperah sometime between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D.

[44] See, for instance, Mukundarāma Cakravartin's *Kavikaṅkaṇacaṇḍī* (edited by Dinesh Chandra Sen, Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyaya and Hrishikesh Basu, and published by the University of Calcutta), Vol. II, 1926, pp. 776-777.

According to the story given by Mukundarāma it was the sage Durvāsas who blessed one of the two widowed queens of Dilīpa to have a son and advised her to unite sexually with the other wife of Dilīpa. This story agrees with that of the Svarga. khaṇḍa in introducing the sage Aṣṭāvakra and in giving the etymological explanation of Bhagīratha's name (दुइ भगे जन्मिलेन नाम भगीरथ).

See also Adbhutācārya's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi-kāṇḍa (edited by Pandit Rajanikanta Chakravarti and published in 1320 B.S. by the Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣat), of which the story is very similar to that of MS. ख used by Dr. N. K. Bhattashali in his edition of Kṛttivāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi-kāṇḍa.

According to Dr. Bhattashali Adbhutācārya (*alias* Nityānanda) was born in 1547 A.D. and lived during the reign of Akbar, the Mughal emperor of Delhi. See Dr. Bhattashali's Introduction (pp. xlvii-xlviii) to his edition of the Ādi-kāṇḍa of Kṛttivāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In the unique MS. of the *Vāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* (written in Sanskrit), which was procured from the district of Birbhum and is now preserved in the Dacca University MSS. Library (see MS. No. 259), the story of Bhagīratha's birth from the union of his mothers has been given.

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verse 20 (on fol. 14*a*) Nārada is said to have been 'respected by the Bhāgavatas in the region of Viṣṇu' (* * viṣṇu-loke mānyo bhāgavataiḥ sadā); and in Chapters 12 and 13 the twelve-syllabled Bhāgavata Mantra of Vāsudeva, viz., 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya', has been referred to in two verses[45] and actually given in one.[46] According to these Vaiṣṇavas, Viṣṇu, also called Vāsudeva on many occasions,[47] is the highest god[48] and is the same as Nārāyaṇa.[49] He has four hands, looks blue like a full-blown blue lotus, and wears yellow clothes.[50] He effects the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe even by a mere movement of his brow.[51] He is the same as 'Yajña-puruṣa',[52] and is 'the inner soul of the universe';[53] and in his supreme state he is beyond 'Pradhāna-puruṣa' and is identical with the Supreme Brahma (paramaṃ brahma).[54] It is said that the Vaiṣṇavas do not desire the attainment of any region other than that of Viṣṇu[55] and that by selflessly singing the praise of this god one can easily attain final liberation.[56]

Though extolling Viṣṇu as the highest deity the Vaiṣṇava redactors of the Svarga-khaṇḍa were not at all antagonistic to Śiva but bore a compromising attitude towards this deity. They were of opinion that by singing the praise of both Hari and Hara one can attain final release or at least the proximity of these two deities.[57] These Vaiṣṇavas, however, subordinated Śiva to Viṣṇu when they said that people having no devotion for Hari but devoutly worshipping Śiva, attained the state of Piśācas,[58] that a songster, who fails to attain the highest state of existence by singing songs, becomes an attendant of Rudra and lives happily with him,[59] and that the Bhūtas, Piśācas and other attendants of Rudra who had little merit, became the devotees of Maheśa.[60] This attitude of the Vaiṣṇavas was caused by their intention to influence the Śaivas, as also the Śāktas who have been mentioned on two occasions,[61] with their own faith and practices (including fast on the Ekādaśī Tithi, of which much has been said in several places).

As regards the language of the Svarga-khaṇḍa it may be said that like many other Purāṇas this Khaṇḍa also, being meant for the general public, contains some un-Pāṇinian forms and usages. For instance, it uses the word 'dagdha' as a noun (for 'dagdhi') in 18. 61 (on fol. 48*a*)—dagdhaṃ prāptaṃ puraṃ sarvaṃ yathā-ruci tathā kuru; the word 'jarā' (which is a noun) has been used as an adjective (meaning 'old') in 5. 53 (on fol. 11*a*)—tatra kācij jarā nārī brāhmaṇī bālam adbhutam | lālayantī nṛpaṃ vīkṣya, etc.; there is irregular Sandhi in 'paśyatetmanaḥ' (= paśyate+ātmanaḥ) in 4. 7 (on fol. 8*b*)—yadā tu mukham ādarśe vikṛtaṃ paśyatetmanaḥ; the

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[45] Svarga-khaṇḍa, 12. 70 (on fol. 32*b*)—dvādaśākṣara-mantreṇa vāsudevātmakena ca; and 13. 2 (on fol. 33*a*) * * * dvādaśākṣara-vidyayā | vāsudevaṃ hṛdā dhyāyan * * *‖

[46] *Ibid.*, 12. 73 (on fol. 32*b*).

[47] See, for instance, *ibid.*, 12. 70ff. (on fol. 32*b*).

[48-49] *Ibid.*, 12. 64 (on fol. 32*a*) and 69 (on fol. 32*b*).

[50] *Ibid.*, 12. 70-71 (on fol. 32*b*) and 13. 55 (on fol. 35*a*).

[51] *Ibid.*, 12. 67 (on fol. 32*b*).

[52-53] *Ibid.*, 12. 66 (on fol. 32*b*).

[54] *Ibid.*, 12. 65 (on fol. 32*a*).

[55] *Ibid.*, 6. 26 (on fol. 12*b*).

[56] *Ibid.*, 7. 24 (on fol. 14*b*).

[57] *Ibid.*, 7. 22 (on fol. 14*a*).

[58] *Ibid.*, 7. 5-6 (on fol. 13*b*).

[59] *Ibid.*, 7. 23 (on fol. 14*a*).

[60] *Ibid.*, 7. 7 (on fols. 13*b*-14*a*).

[61] See *ibid.*, 31. 9 (on fol. 67*b*) and 14 (on fol. 68*a*).

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Bahuvrīhi compound formed of 'vi' and 'manas' is 'vimanā', a feminine word ending in 'ā' and being declined as 'latā' (see 4. 32—sva-gṛnāyaiva tāṃ netuṃ vimanām upacakrame); लिट् has been used with a nominative in the first person, e.g. in 10. 26—chidrānveṣī garbham etaṃ cakartāham sva-sādhakaḥ; the Kṛdanta word 'uṣya' has been derived from the root 'vas'[62] with the Kṛt affix ल्यप्, e.g. in 13. 35—uṣya rājāsane ramye pālayasva vasundharām; and so on. As most of these forms and usages occur in those verses of the Svarga-Khaṇḍa which have been derived from, or influenced by, the *Mahābhārata*, they have little value in determining the age of this part of the *Padma-purāṇa*.

[62] It is to be noted that this root has been used, as in Bengali, to mean 'to sit'.

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RAGHUNANDANA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO HIS PREDECESSORS

Part II

By Bhabatosh Bhattacharya

Paper received on 1-7-53

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APPENDIX A

Identification of quotations from works of the Ancient Period

I. The Epics

(*a*) *Rāmāyaṇa*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. R.

p. 135 = Bl. II. LXXIX. v. 12 ––तथा चायोध्याकाण्डे भरतशपथे। 'आषाढी...गतः'।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. R.

p. 387 = ––रामायणम्। 'ऋगन्ते.....स्मृतम्'।

p. 456 = Bl. II. CXI. v. 36*b* ––अतएवायोध्याकाण्डे श्रीरामवाक्यम्। '*यदन्नः पुरुषो नूनं तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः'। इति।

3. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. R.

p. 82 = Bl. II. CXI. v. 36*b* ––अतएव अयोध्याकाण्डे श्रीरामवाक्यम्। '*यदन्नः पुरुषो राजंस्तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः'। इति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 456 of A.T.)

4. Udvāhatattva

U.T. R.

p. 139 = Bl. II. 86. 2*a* ––'ततश्चोद्दिश्य (°द्दिश्य ?) पितरं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ धनम्' इति अयोध्याकाण्डे।

p. 141 = N.W. V. 93. 13 ––तथा च रामायणम्। 'पर्य्याप्तदक्षिणस्यापि..... शरणागते'।
[N.W. reads सुपर्य्याप्तविसृष्टस्य (the very reading in D.S.) for पर्य्याप्तदक्षिणस्यापि.]

5. Vyavahāratattva

V.T. R.

p. 219 = N.W. V. 92. 38 (= G.P. VI. 17. 64) ––अतएव श्रीरामायणे। 'ओंकार....नृणाम्'।
(Both N.W. and G.P. read न शक्यो विनिगूहितुम् . . for न शक्योऽसौ निगूहितुम्।)

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6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. R.

p. 245 = Bl. III. II. v. 24 —पत्युर्महागुरुत्वमाह रामायणे सीतां प्रति अनसूयावाक्यम्। 'नातो विशिष्टं....गुरुरेव च'। (R. reads प्रभु for गति.)

p. 323 = Bl. II. CXI. vv. 35-36 —न च भरतदत्तपिण्डानन्तरम् 'ऐङ्गुदं....यदन्नः पुरुषो राजंस्तदन्नाः पितृदेवताः'॥ इति अयोध्याकाण्डे रामपिण्डदानश्रवणात्.....देया इति वाच्यम्।

Bl. II. XLI. v. 10 —तत्र 'भरतश्चेत्.....समुपागमत्' इति अयोध्याकाण्डे दशरथशापात्....पुनस्तत्करणम्।

Bl. VI. CIV. vv. 32*b*-33*a* —न च प्रतीत्यभावात् कथं....वाच्यम् 'कुरु प्रसादं....कैकेयी त्वया'॥ इति सीतापरीक्षानन्तरं रघुनाथप्रार्थनानुपपत्तेः।
(R. reads यदन्नः पुरुषो नूनं तदन्नाः पितृदेवताः.)

p. 326 = Bl. II. LXXXVI. vv. 1*a*–6*a* —अतएव श्रीरामाप्राप्तिशङ्कया भरतेनाद्यादिश्राद्धं कृतम्। तथा च अयोध्याकाण्डे। 'समतीते दशाहे तु.....नृवरात्मजः'॥

p. 364 = N.W. V. 93. 13 —तथा च रामायणम्। 'पर्य्याप्तदक्षिणस्यापि.....शरणागते'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 141 of U.T.)

p. 366 = Bl. II. 86. 2*a* —'ततश्चोद्दिश्य पितरम्' इति रामायणवचनात्....दानानि कार्य्याणि।
(Part of the quot. on p. 139 of U.T.)

(*b*) *Mahābhārata*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. M.bh.

p. 120 = आदि—170/11, 16, 23-24 —गन्धर्ववाक्यञ्च। 'अतो रात्रौ....भागीरथीजलम्'। इति रात्रिञ्चराधिकारमुपक्रम्यादिपर्वणि।
(Diff. reading in M.bh.)

p. 146 = अनु—115/63 —महाभारते। 'कौमुदन्तु....धर्मो ह्यत्र विधीयते'।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. M.bh.

pp. 399-400 = cf. अनु—39/9 for the last quotation —महाभारते। 'काङ्क्षन्तः...कर्मजा'।.....'गवाह्निकं.....महापातकजान्यपि'। दानधर्मे विष्णुं प्रति नारदवाक्यम्। 'अकृत्वा....भवेयुरविकत्थनाः'।

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A.T. M.bh.

p. 450 = अनु—115/63 —महाभारते। 'कौमुदन्तु.....विधीयते'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 146 of T.T.)

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. M.bh.

p. 467 = अनु—122/18 —यथा महाभारते। 'अङ्गिर्गात्रान्मलमिव....सर्वपाप-मपोहति'।

p. 498 = अनु—26/55 —दानधर्म-ब्रह्माण्डाग्नेयेषु। 'जाह्नवी....केवलम्'।

p. 500 = अनु—26/37 —अतएव महाभारते। 'त्रिषु लोकेषु...गङ्गाजलैः शुभैः'।

pp. 508-9 = आदि—170/11, 16, 23-24 —रात्रिञ्चराधिकारमुपक्रम्यादिपर्वणि गान्धर्ववाक्यञ्च। 'अतो रात्रौ....भागीरथीजलम्'।
(Diff. reading in M.bh.)
(The same as the quot. on p. 120 of T.T.)

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. M.bh.

p. 793 = अनु—141/59 —अतएव भारते आनुशासनिके पर्वणि। 'अहिंसक..... युज्यते'।
(Diff. reading in M.bh.)

p. 823 = अनु—115/76, 63 —महाभारते....'एतैरन्यैश्च....विधीयते'।

5. Udvāhatattva

U.T. M.bh.

p. 119 = आदि—77/1*b*, 5*b*, 7*b*, 8, 17*a* —अतएव आदिपर्वणि। 'प्रस्थितं....न दोषतः'।

p. 147 = आदि—116/11 —अतएव आदिपर्वणि गान्धारीवाक्यम्। 'एकाशताधिका कन्या...पतिर्मम'।
(M.bh. reads वाला for कन्या)

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. M.bh.

p. 295 = शान्ति—35/31 —राजधर्मे। 'पज्जलोच्छिष्टकांस्यं....दशभिस्तु तत्'।
(Diff. reading in M.bh.)

7. Kṛtyatattva

K.T. M.bh.

p. 435 = अनु—115/64 —महाभारते। 'चतुरो° वार्षिकान्....कीर्त्तिमायुर्यशो बलम्'।

p. 449 = अनु—115/63 —महाभारते। 'कौमुदन्तु.....विधीयते'।
[The same as the quotations on p. 146 of T.T., p. 450 of A.T. and p. 823 of M.T. (2nd quot.).]

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(c) *Bhagavadgītā*

(part of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata)

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Bh.g.

pp. 175-6 = 17/24 —तस्य पूर्वपाठमाह भगवद्गीतायाम् 'तस्मादो. . . .ब्रह्मवादिनाम्'।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Bh.g.

p. 350 = 18/26 —भगवद्गीतायां 'मुक्तसङ्गोऽनहंवादी. . .सात्त्विक उच्यते'।

,, = 2/47 —अतएवोक्तम् 'मा कर्मफल. . . .स्वकर्मणि'।

,, = 18/27-28 —'वाग्मी. . . . . तामस उच्यते'। (Bh.g. reads रागी°)

pp. 383-4 = 18/61 —तथा च भगवद्गीतायां 'ईश्वरः. . . . . मायया'।

p. 425 = 3/13 —वलिवैश्वदेवावशिष्टानां भोज्यतामाह भगवद्गीता। 'यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः. . .पातकैः।. . . .पचन्त्यात्मकारणात्'। (Bh.g. reads °किल्विषैः for °पातकैः)

p. 430 = 17/8–10 —भगवद्गीतासु। 'आयुः-सत्त्व-वलारोग्य. . .। रस्याः. . . .भोजनं तामसप्रियम्'। (Bh.g. reads रस्याः for रम्याः)

p. 433 = 3/12 —भगवद्गीतापि। 'इष्टान् भोगान्. . . . .स्तेन एव सः'।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Bh.g.

p. 533 = 1/36*b* —तथा च 'पापमेवाश्रयेदस्मान् हत्वैतानाततायिनः' इत्याद्युक्तपापक्षयाय।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Bh.g.

p. 820 = 11/33 —गीतायां 'मयैवैते. . . . . सव्यसाचिन्' [इतिवत् स्वरूपाख्यानपरं वा पूर्वपदम्।]

p. 837 = 5/12 —भगवद्गीतापि 'युक्तः. . . . . निवध्यते'।

,, = 3/30 —तथा चार्जुनं प्रति भगवद्वाक्यम् 'मयि सर्वाणि. . . .विगतज्वरः'।

,, = 9/27 —व्यक्तमाह स एव 'यत्करोषि. . . . . मदर्पणम्'।

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5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Bh.g.

pp. 13-14 = 17/23 ——तथा च भगवद्गीता। 'ओं तत्सदिति.....विहिताः पुरा'।

p. 14 = 17/24 ——तथा च 'तस्मात् ओमित्युदाहृत्य.....ब्रह्मवादिनाम्'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 175-6 of T.T.)

„ = 17/25-26 ——भगवद्गीतायाम्। 'तदित्य.....मोक्षकाङ्क्षिभिः'। (Bh.g. reads फलं यज्ञतपःक्रियाः for यज्ञदानतपःक्रियाः.) .....'सद्भावे.....पार्थ युज्यते'।

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Bh.g.

p. 345 = 17/28 ——अतएव भगवद्गीतासु 'अश्रद्धया हुतं.....नेह च'।

p. 367 = 17/23–26 ——वैदिककर्ममात्रे तु ओम् तत्सदित्युच्चार्य्य दद्यादित्याह भगवद्गीता। 'ओम्.....पार्थ युज्यते'। (The same as the three quotations on pp. 13-14 of E.T.)

II. The Dharmasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras

(A) The Dharmasūtras

(a) *Gautama*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Gaut.

pp. 16-7 = ——गौतमोऽपि 'आरभ्य...न लङ्घयेत्'।

p. 55 = ——'छागोऽनादेशे पशुः' इति गोतमात्।

p. 126 = ——'दिवामानप्रमाणेन...पारणम्' इति गौतमीयाच्च।

p. 128 = ——गौतमः। 'रात्रावुदङ्मुखः....कुर्य्यादुदङ्मुखः'।

p. 173 = ——अतएव...कल्पानाह गोतमः। 'अथ श्राद्धं...शक्तित' इति।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Gaut.

p. 212 = ——समुद्रकरधृतगोतमः। 'शिरसः....क्रमात्'।

p. 240 = ——केचिद्वदन्ति गोतमादयः 'सव्यं.....मुखान्त'मित्याहुः।

p. 250 = ——'छागोऽनादेशे पशुः' इति गोतमात्। (The same as the quot. on p. 55 of T.T.)

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Sr.T. Gaut.

p. 267 = ——गोतमः। 'आरभ्य.....न लङ्घयेत्' इति। (The same as the quot. on pp. 16-17 of T.T.)

p. 305 = ——रजस्वलायां विशेषयति गोतमः। 'अपुत्रा....पञ्चमे दिने'।

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Gaut.

p. 335 = 2/1/53 ——'आचमनार्थे....इत्येके' इति स्त्रीशूद्राधिकारे गोतमोक्तिश्च।

p. 349 = ——गोतमः। 'कृषि.....कुषीदञ्चेति'।

p. 356 = ——एकवस्त्रस्नाने.....गोतमः। 'एकवस्त्रेण....परिहीयते'।

pp. 391-2 = ——गोतमः। 'क्रोधं.....सुरार्चितम्'।

p. 395 = ——गोतमापस्तम्बौ। 'एकामृचमेकं वा...व्याहरेदिति'।

p. 398 = ——अतएव गोतमः। 'यदा समर्थ....पालयेत्'।

p. 400 = 2/3/25 (2nd quot.) ——गोतमः। 'रात्रा...दुदङ्मुखः'।....'गोऽन्यर्थ...तानाम्' इति गोतमवचनाच्च। (The 1st quot. = p. 128 of T.T.)

p. 420 = ——पार्वणादिपूर्वाकरणे.....गोतमः। 'पितृश्राद्ध....नोपतिष्ठते'।

p. 421 = ——गोतमोक्तो होमः स च दिग्देवताभ्यो यथा 'स्वमित्यादितदुक्तवलिभिः सहितो'।

p. 422 = ——गोतमकल्पे 'अग्नाविति'।

p. 457 = 2/1/39–42 ——यथा गोतमः। 'स्वामी....वैश्यशूद्रयोः'।

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Gaut.

p. 486 = 3/8/4 ——व्यक्तमाह गोतमः। 'अथापरं....याचेत' इति।

p. 518 = ——गोतमोक्तपरिगणनीयनियमस्तु 'अनादिष्टे...कल्पिकत्व'मिति विशेषः।

pp. 537-8 = 1/7/13 ——तथा च गोतमः। 'पशवश्च हिंसासंयोग' इति।

p. 543 = ——यथा गोतमः। 'द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो...नरकमिति'।

p. 556 = 3/5/2-3 ——गोतमः। 'अमत्या पाने...चैवमिति'।

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5. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Gaut.
p. 795 = ——शूद्राधिकारे गोतमः । 'अनुमतोऽस्य . . . मन्त्रः' इति ।

6. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Gaut.
p. 894 = ——गोतमः । 'अन्तर्जानु . . . . श्रद्धयान्वितः' ।

7. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Gaut.
p. 20 = 1/8/24 ——गुणानाह गोतमः । 'दया सर्वभूतेषु . . . . अस्पृहा चेति'

p. 61 = ——गोतमः । 'रात्रावुदङ्मुखः . . . . . कुर्य्यादुदङ्मुखः' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 128 of T.T. and as the 1st quot. on p. 400 of A.T.)

p. 72 = ——गोतमः । 'अन्तर्जानु . . . . श्रद्धयान्वितः' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 894 of Sm.T.)

8. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Gaut.
p. 108 = 2/5/12 ——'पिण्डनिवृत्तिः सप्तमे पञ्चमे वा' इति हारलताधृतगोतमसूत्रे ।

p. 122 = 2/9/17–19 ——गोतमश्च । 'द्वादशवर्षाणि . . . . षडित्येके' इति ।

p. 128 = 1/5/21 ——गोतमः । 'प्रतिश्रुत्या . . . . . न दद्यादिति' ।

9. Dāyatattva

D.T. Gaut.
p. 162 = (twice) ——'उत्पत्त्यैवार्थं स्वामित्वाल्लभेत इत्याचार्य्याः' इति गौतमवचनम् ।

p. 168 = 3/10/1-2 ——'चोर्द्धं पितुः . . . . चेच्छति' इति गौतमवचनस्य ।

10. Vyavahāratattva

V.T. Gaut.
p. 215 = 2/4/24-25 ——गौतमः । 'नानृतवचने . . . पापीयसो जीवनम्' इति ।

p. 217 = ——तथा च गौतमेनापि 'न्यायाधिगमे . . . गमयेदि'त्युक्त्वा 'तस्माद्राजाचार्य्याविनिन्द्यावि'त्युपसंहृतम् ।

p. 223 = 2/3/34 ——गोतमः । 'अजडा . . . . . भोक्तुः' इति ।

11. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Gaut.
p. 236 = ——तथा . . . . गोतमः । 'पृथक् . . . . मर्हति' ।

p. 273 = ——गोतमः । 'श्रुत्वा . . . . पक्षिणीम्' इति ।

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S.T. Gaut.

p. 311 = —समुद्रकरधृत....गोतमः। 'एकवस्त्रेण...परिहीयते'। (The same as the quot. on p. 356 of A.T.)

p. 334 = —श्राद्ध एव पञ्चाहो गोतमेनोक्तः। यथा 'अपुत्रा..... पञ्चमेऽहनि'। (The same as the quot. on p. 305 of Sr.T.)

p. 354 = —गोतमः। 'अन्तर्जानु.....श्रद्धयान्वितः'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 894 and 72 of Sm.T. and E.T. respectively.)

pp. 387-8 = —गोतमेन 'पुत्राभावे...ऋत्विगाचार्य्यौ' इत्युक्तत्वात्।

12. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. Gaut.

p. 526 = 2/1/39–42 —तथा च गोतमः। 'स्वामी....वैश्यशूद्रयोः' इति। (The same as the quot. on p. 457 of A.T.)

(*b*) *Āpastamba*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Āp.

p. 26 = —'प्रतिपत् सद्वितीया स्यात्' इत्यापस्तम्बीयात्।

p. 64 = —'मन्त्रान्ते कर्मादीनि सन्निपातयेत्' इत्यापस्तम्बीयाच्च।

p. 184 = —तथा च....आपस्तम्बः। 'सर्वस्माद्....अश्नीयात्' इति।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Āp.

p. 190 = —तथा चापस्तम्बः। 'अथैतन्मनुः....प्रोवाच' इति।

p. 202 = 2/7/17/11–13 —आपस्तम्बः। 'पूर्वेद्युर्निवेदनं...मन्त्रण'मिति।

p. 223 = 1/5/17/17 and 19 —आपस्तम्बेन..... प्रतिप्रसूतत्वात्।..... आपस्तम्बः। 'कृतान्नं.....वर्जम्' इति।

p. 227 = —'तैलपक्व'मित्यापस्तम्बेन तैलेन पाकविधानात्।

p. 249 = —तथा च....आपस्तम्बः। 'सर्वस्माद्....अश्नीयात्' इति। (The same as the quot. on p. 184 of T.T.)

p. 304 = —'अपुत्रा....न पार्वणम्' इति आपस्तम्बवचने।

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3. Āhnikatattva

A.T.	Āp.	
p. 328	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'मूत्र....दक्षिणापरां वेति'।
p. 330	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'न च सोपानत्को...कुर्य्यादिति'।
p. 332	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'पथि.....यथाबलम्'।
p. 333	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'इत्येवमद्भिराजानु....संयतः'।
p. 338	=	——तथा च कामधेनावापस्तम्बः। 'त्रिराचामेत्....पादौ शिरश्च'।
,,	=	——व्यक्तं कामधेनावाचारचिन्तामणावापस्तम्बः। 'चक्षुषी....सकृदुपस्पृशेत्'।
p. 395	=	——गोतमापस्तम्बौ। 'एकामृचमेकं वा...व्याहरेदिति'।
p. 395-6	=	—'अथ सधृतवासा....विधीयते' इत्यापस्तम्बेन।
p. 420	= 2/2/3/12	——आपस्तम्बः। 'गृहमेधिनो....स्वस्वपुष्टिसंयुक्ता' इति।
p. 431	=	——जीवन्मातृकस्य.....आपस्तम्बः। 'दक्षिणामुखो....मातुरुपदिशति'।
p. 432	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'दिवा.....मूलेभ्यः'।
,,	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'यस्तु.....पंक्तिदूषकः'।
,,	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'भिन्न.....पञ्चगव्येन शुध्यति'।
p. 435	=	——मौने विशेषमाह आपस्तम्बः। 'तत्र मौनमुक्तम्। त्रैविद्य....भवतीति विज्ञायते' इति।
p. 457	=	——वृत्त्यधिकारे व्यक्तमाहापस्तम्बः। 'दायाद्यं....परिगृहीतम्' इति।
p. 461	=	——चतुर्थ्यां....माहापस्तम्बः। 'चतुर्थी....निःश्रेयसार्थम्' इति।
p. 463	=	——आपस्तम्बः। 'ऋतौ तु....मूत्रपुरीषवत्' इति।

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T.	Āp.	
p. 469	=	——भक्तुकामस्याप्याहापस्तम्बः। 'भोक्ष्यमाणः....द्विराचमेत्' इति।
p. 477	=	——द्वैगुण्यमाहापस्तम्बः। 'यः प्रमत्तो....पुण्यक्रियासु च'।
p. 525	=	——तयोर्गोवध...संवर्तापस्तम्बौ। 'एका चेद्बहुभिः.....पृथक् पृथक्'।
p. 527	= 2/11/29/2	—'यो भूय....विशेषः' इत्यापस्तम्बवचनात्।

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P.T. Āp.

p. 535 = —इतरत्रापस्तम्बोक्तम् 'कान्तारेष्वथवा....पाद एको विधीयते' इति ज्ञेयम्।

p. 541 = —यथापस्तम्बः। 'कापालिकान्न.....द्वयम्'।

p. 544 = —तथा चापस्तम्बः। 'राजा सार्वभौमो...नाप्यसार्वभौम' इति।

pp. 544-5 = 1/9/24/25 —तथा च मिताक्षरायामापस्तम्बः। 'नास्यास्मिन्..... निहन्यते' इति।

p. 547 = —तथा चापस्तम्बः। 'अन्त्यजाति.....कृच्छ्रपादो विधीयते'।

p. 548 = —यत्तु मिताक्षरायामापस्तम्बः। 'अन्त्यानां...विधिः'।

p. 555 = —कामरूपीयनिबन्धे स्मृतिसागरे आपस्तम्बः। 'ब्राह्मणेन यदा....क्षपेद्दिनम्'।

pp. 556-7 = —आपस्तम्बः। 'भुक्त्वोच्छिष्ट....आमाशने तथा'।

5. Jyotistattva

J.T. Āp.

p. 708 = 2/11/19/15 —तथा चापस्तम्बः। 'स्त्रीभ्यो....त्येक' इति।

6. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Āp.

p. 855 = —तथा चापस्तम्बः। 'अपुत्रा....न पार्वणम्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 304 of Sr.T.)

7. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Āp.

p. 894 = 2/4/9/8 —सम्प्रदानकरे.....आपस्तम्बः। 'सर्वाण्युदकपूर्वाणि दानानी'ति।

8. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Āp.

pp. 30-1 = 1/1/1/20–22, 24–26 —उपनीय इत्यनुवृत्तौ आपस्तम्बोऽपि। 'अथ काम्यानि... पशुकामम्' इति।

9. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Āp.

p. 112 = —आचारमाधवीय-मदनपारिजातयोरापस्तम्बः। 'समान-गोत्रप्रवरां....हीयते'।

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10. Dāyatattva

D.T. Āp.

p. 172 = 2/6/14/14-15 ——आपस्तम्बः । 'सर्वे हि. . . . कुर्वीत' इति ।

p. 180 = 2/6/14/18 ——आपस्तम्बवचने 'तथा पुण्यापुण्यफलेषु च' इति ।

p. 196 = ——आपस्तम्बः । 'अन्तेवासी. . . . दुहिता वा' इति ।

11. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Āp.

p. 243 = ——आपस्तम्बः । 'चितिभ्रष्टा. . . . पापकर्मणः' ।

p. 248 = 1/3/10/6 ——अशौचाधिकारे आपस्तम्बः । 'अनुभाविनाञ्च परिवापन'मिति ।

p. 249 = 1/3/10/7-8 ——यत् पुनरापस्तम्बः । 'न समावृत्ता. . . यच्छिखेति' ।

p. 277 = 1/4/14/20 ——आपस्तम्बः । 'अप्रयतश्च न प्रत्यभिवादये'दिति ।

p. 321 = 2/6/15/5-6 ——अशक्तविषये. . . . आपस्तम्बः । 'भार्य्याः. . . . कुर्वीरन्नि'ति । (Diff. reading in Āp.)

p. 325 = ——'मित्र. . . . अन्यथा' इत्यापस्तम्बवचनेन. . . अतएव. . . आपस्तम्बः । 'असंस्कृतः. . . . . वेदपारगः' इति । . . . . शङ्खापस्तम्बौ । 'अपपात्रितस्य. . . निवर्तन्ते' इति ।

p. 354 = 2/4/9/8-9 ——आपस्तम्बः । 'सर्वाण्युदकपूर्वाणि. . . बीहारे' ।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 894 of Sm.T.)

p. 380 = ——व्यक्तमाहापस्तम्बः । 'मन्त्रान्ते कर्मादीनि सन्निपातयेदि'ति ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 64 of T.T.)

12. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. Āp.

p. 526 = ——ऋक्थाधिकारे व्यक्तमाह आपस्तम्बः । 'दायाद्यं. . . परिगृहीत'मिति ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 457 of A.T.)

13. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. Āp.

p. 555 = ——व्यक्तमाह आपस्तम्बः । 'मन्त्रान्ते कर्मादीन्(०नि ?) सन्निपातयेदि'ति । (The same as the quot. on p. 64 of T.T. and p. 380 of S.T.)

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14. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. Āp.
p. 616 = —'नमस्कारेण.....हापयेत्' इति आपस्तम्बादिविशेष-विधिना।

15. Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsargatattva

Y.V.T. Āp.
p. 641 = —तथा च आपस्तम्बः। 'आज्यस्थाल्यामाज्यं....तन्नि-रूप्याधिश्रित्ये'ति।

(c) *Baudhāyana*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Baudh.
p. 17 = —बौधायनः। 'यो यस्य....नोपक्रमोज्झिता'।
p. 25 = —नक्षत्रद्वैधे तु बौधायनमार्कण्डेयौ। 'तन्नक्षत्र....दिनं स्मृतम्'।....बौधायनः। 'सा तिथिस्तच्च.....त्वस्तमयं प्रति'।
p. 49 = —अतएव बौधायनः। 'यो यस्य...नोपक्रमोज्झिता'। (The same as the quot. on p. 17 of T.T.)
p. 78 = —पूजामधिकृत्य बौधायनः। 'प्रतिमा....विसर्जनवर्जम्' इति।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Baudh.
p. 268 = —तथा च बौधायनः। 'यो यस्य...नोपक्रमोज्झिता'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 17 and 49 of T.T.)

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Baudh.
p. 329 = —'पृष्ठलम्बितं निवीतं वा' इति बौधायनवचनाच्च।
p. 332 = —दक्षबौधायनौ। 'देशं....प्रकल्पयेत्'।
p. 335 = 1/5/10 —अम्बु....बौधायनः। 'पादप्रक्षालनात्....आचामे-दि'ति।
= 1/4/3 —तदाह बौधायनः। 'मूत्रपुरीषे...सव्येनाचमनीयमि'ति।
p. 337 = —अत्र च 'अनेकोद्वाह्ये.....संकीर्णीभूता'इति बौधायन-वचनात्।

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A.T. Baudh.

p. 363 = ——बौधायनः। 'नाभौ धृतञ्च....स्तयोः'।

p. 366 = 2/3/4–7 ——बौधायनः। 'स्रवन्तीष्वनिरुद्धासु....घटांस्तथा'।

p. 377 = ——बौधायनः। 'न जीवत्पितृकः.....दिवसेषु च'।

p. 386 = ——बौधायनः। 'सूर्यश्च.....पवित्रपाणिना' इति।

p. 392 = 1/5/18 ——बौधायनः। 'नाभेरधश्च....विवर्जयेत्'।

p. 397 = ——अतएव बौधायनः। 'प्रतिमा...विसर्जनवर्जम्' इति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 78 of T.T.)

p. 400 = 1/2/32 ——अतएव.....बौधायनः। 'समिद्वार्य्युदक....युक्त'-मिति।

p. 421 = ——बौधायनः। 'भोजनं.....तद्वदाचमनञ्चरेत्'।

p. 428 = ——अतएव बौधायनः। 'अहरह....समाप्नोति'।

p. 432 = ——बौधायनः। 'उपलिप्ते....मण्डलम्' इति।

p. 433 = ——बौधायनः। 'भोजनं.....स्मृतम्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 421 of A.T.)

p. 434 = ——बौधायनः। 'आचम्य....अश्नीयात्'।

p. 454 = ——बौधायनः। 'अदुष्टा....सुराकरम्'।

p. 458 = ——बौधायनः। 'भुञ्जानेषु....तथोच्यते'।
(= pp. 431-2 of A.T. as of Gobhila.)

„ = ——बौधायनः। 'पुनराचम्य....विश्वधृक्।

pp. 462-3 = ——बौधायनीयमनृतौ....अकामविषयम्। 'पर्वण्य.....उपवसेत्'।

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Baudh.

p. 486 = ——अत्र.....बौधायनः। 'अष्टौ....औषधम्'।

p. 506 = 2/3/4–7 ——'स्रवन्तीष्वनिरुद्धासु....नो सदा' इति बौधायनवचने।
(Part of the quot. on p. 366 of A.T.)

p. 538 = ——बौधायनः। 'पूर्वाभि.....पापात् प्रमुच्यते'।

p. 549 = ——बौधायनः। 'गोमांस....म्लेच्छ इत्यभिधीयते'।

5. Jyotistattva

J.T. Baudh.

p. 660 = ——बौधायनः। 'रथाश्व.....वायसम्'।

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6. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Baudh.

p. 739 = —'पर्वणो.....मनीषिभिः' इति बौधायनवचनेन।

p. 801 = —'बहूनामेकधर्माणाम्....ते स्मृताः' इति बौधायनेनोक्ता-काङ्क्षया।

p. 817 = —'बहूनाम्.....स्मृताः' इति बौधायनवचनात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 801 of M.T.)

7. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Baudh.

p. 111 = 2/1/38 —बौधायनः। 'सगोत्राञ्चेद्....विभृयादि'ति।

8. Dāyatattva

D.T. Baudh.

p. 162 = 1/5/9 —'सत्स्वङ्गजेषु तद्गामी ह्यर्थो भवति' इति बौधायनवचनात्।
(Diff. reading in Baudh.)

pp. 186–7 = —कन्याधनाधिकारे क्रममाह बौधायनः। 'रिक्थं...पितुः'।

p. 189 = 1/5/9 (twice) —अतएव बौधायनवचने....'सत्स्वङ्गजेषु....भवति' इत्युक्तम्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 162 of D.T.)

9. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. Baudh.

p. 220 = —बौधायनः। 'पञ्च पश्वनृते....मृषा वदन्'।

10. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Baudh.

p. 245 = 1/5/16 —बौधायनोक्तम् यथा 'अथ चेद्दशरात्राः...दिवसात्'।

p. 246 = 1/5/16 —'अथ चेद्दशरात्राः सन्निपतेयुः' इति।
(Part of the quot. on p. 245 of S.T.)

p. 278 = —बौधायनः। 'मानसमप्यशुचिरिति'।

pp. 280-1 = —'बहूनाम्....स्मृताः' इति बौधायनवचनस्वरसात्।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 801 and 817 of M.T.)

pp. 287-8 = —तत्र 'बहूनामेकधर्माणा'मिति वचनात् (Part of the quot. on pp. 801 and 817 of M.T. and pp. 280-1 of S.T.)

p. 296 = —बौधायनः। 'भिन्नकांस्ये....सदा शुचिः'।

" = —बौधायनः। 'अदुष्टाः.....सुराकरम्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 454 of A.T.)

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S.T. Baudh.

p. 297 = ——बौधायनः। 'अनेकोद्वाह्ये . . . सङ्कीर्णीभूता' इति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 337 of A.T.)

p. 303 = ——बौधायनः। 'आददीत . . . . विशुध्यति'।

p. 317 = 1/5/22 ——जले वृद्ध . . . . . पुरःसरं बौधायनेन तथोक्तत्वात्। . . . . . 'मरणे यथा बालं . . . . एवोत्तीर्य्याचामन्ति' इति बौधायनवचने।

p. 396 = 1/5/7–9 ——तथा च बौधायनः। 'प्रपितामहः . . . . सत्स्वङ्गजेषु तद्गामी ह्यर्थो भवति' इति।
(Partly the same as the quot. on pp. 162 and 189 of D.T.)

11. Vāstuyāgatattva

V.Y.T. Baudh.

p. 417 = ——'प्रतिमा . . . . विसर्जनवर्जम्' इति बौधायनवचनात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 78 of T.T. and p. 397 of A.T.; V.Y.T. inadvertently omits अग्नौ in the middle of the above sentence.)

12. Kṛtyatattva

K.T. Baudh.

p. 449 = ——अत्र च . . . . प्याहतुः उद्योगपर्वबौधायनौ। 'अष्टैतान्य . . . . मौषधम्'।

p. 472 = ——बौधायनः। 'प्रतिमा . . . . . नावाहनविसर्जने'।
(= pp. 78, 397 and 417 of T.T., A.T. and V.Y.T. respectively.)

13. Devapratiṣṭhātattva

D.P.T. Baudh

p. 512 = ——अथास्पृश्यस्पर्शने तु बौधायनः। 'द्रव्यवत् . . . प्रतिष्ठापन'-मिति।

14. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. Baudh.

p. 556 = ——'बहूनाम् . . . . स्मृताः' इति बौधायनवचनात्।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 801 and 817 of M.T. and pp. 280-1 of S.T.)

15. Dīkṣātattva

Dik.T. Baudh.

p. 649 = ——बौधायनः। 'प्रतिमा . . . . नावाहनविसर्जनम्' इति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 78 of T.T., p. 397 of A.T., p. 417 of V.Y.T. and p. 472 of K.T.)

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(*d*) *Vaśiṣṭha*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Vaś.

p. 49 = —वशिष्ठः। 'वासरे.....सदा तिथिः'।

p. 51 = —'कृष्णाष्टमी...पारणं भवेत्' इति वशिष्ठ...स्युक्तस्याप्येष एव विषयः।

p. 97 = —अतएव वशिष्ठसंहितायाम्। 'तस्मात्...होमकर्मणि'।

pp. 100-1 = —शान्तिदीपिकायां वशिष्ठः। 'दद्यात्....विसर्जनम्'।

p. 154 = —वशिष्ठः। 'शस्यं....मुदाहृतम्'।

p. 181 = —'हस्तदत्ताश्च.....नायसेन कदाचन' इति वशिष्ठेन सामान्यतो विधानात्।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Vaś.

p. 225 = —'शस्यं....मुदाहृतम्' इति वशिष्ठवचनेन। (The same as the quot. on p. 154 of T.T.)

p. 229 = —'हस्तदत्ताश्च....नायसेन कदाचन' इति वशिष्ठेन सामान्यतोऽभिधानात्। (The same as the quot. on p. 181 of T.T.)

p. 247 = —'यद्येकं....ब्रह्मचारिणे' इति वशिष्ठोक्तेः।

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Vaś.

p. 329 = —वशिष्ठः। 'आहार....गुप्ततमे तु कार्य्ये'।

p. 336 = —आचामेदित्यनुवृत्तौ वशिष्ठः। 'प्रदरादपि...अशुभागमाः'।

pp. 337-8 = —तथा च वशिष्ठः। 'आचान्तः....स्यातामलोमकौ'।

pp. 360-1 = —वशिष्ठः। 'योऽनेन....फलम्'।

p. 369 = —एवम् 'अनग्निराचरेत्....प्राग्विशेषतः' इति वशिष्ठवचनात्।

p. 401 = —आगमने तु वशिष्ठः। 'जपकाले...कीर्तयेत्'।

p. 422 = —अनग्निकस्य विशेषमाह वशिष्ठः। 'अनग्निकस्तु.....हरेत्'।

p. 459 = —वशिष्ठः। 'सुपूगश्च....बुद्धिप्रणाशिनी'।

p. 462 = —वशिष्ठः। 'त्रिरात्रं....न खर्वेण वेति'।

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A.T. Vaś.

p. 462 = —तदाह वशिष्ठः। 'अद्य श्वो वा....वर' इति।

p. 463 = —वशिष्ठः। 'शूद्रान्नेन....तथोच्यते'।

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Vaś.

p. 488 = —यथा वशिष्ठः। 'ब्राह्मणं हत्वा....जुह्वती'ति।

p. 506 = —वशिष्ठः। 'योऽनेनः.....द्विगुणं स्मृतम्'।

p. 511 = 27/6 —वशिष्ठोऽपि। 'इतिहास....प्रहरिष्यति'।

5. Jyotistattva

J.T. Vaś.

p. 594 = —वशिष्ठः। 'क्षीणोऽपि.....यदा'।

6. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Vaś.

pp. 879-80 = —तत्र वशिष्ठः। 'ऐशान्यामा....विसर्जनम्'।

p. 939 = —'ईषद्धौतं.....पावनम्' इति वशिष्ठोक्तलक्षणे।

7. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Vaś.

p. 113 = 15/1–6 —तत्प्रकारमाह वशिष्ठः। 'शुक्रशोणितसम्भवः....प्रतिगृह्णीयादि'ति।
(Diff. readings in Vaś.)

p. 121 = —वशिष्ठः। 'अष्टौ....प्रायश्चित्तीभवती'ति।

p. 122 = —वशिष्ठः। 'अग्रजोऽस्य....यथाविधि'।

p. 123 = 20/9-10 —प्रायश्चित्तमाह वशिष्ठः। 'अथाग्रेदिधिषुपतिः....पुनर्निर्विशेत' इति।

p. 128 = —वशिष्ठः। 'कुलशील....तथैव च'।

p. 129 = 17/72 (2nd v. only) —नेत्याह वशिष्ठः। 'कन्यायां....पितुरेव सा'।

pp. 148-9 = —तदधिकारी...वशिष्ठोक्तः। 'प्राणे गते...वसेत्'।

p. 149 = 8/1 —अन्यत्र वशिष्ठोऽपि। 'गृहस्थो...भार्य्यां विन्देत' इति।
(Diff. readings in Vaś.)

8. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Vaś.

p. 293 = —ज्ञानतो....वशिष्ठः। 'मानुषास्थि...त्वहोरात्रम्'।

p. 320 = 4/14 —'अघस्रस्तरे त्र्यहमनश्नन्तः' इति वक्ष्यमाणवशिष्ठवचनात्'।

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S.T. Vaś.

p. 320 = 4/14 —शक्तविषये वशिष्ठः। 'अघस्रस्तरे त्र्यहमनश्नन्त आसीरन्' इति। (Vaś. reads प्रस्तरे for अघस्रस्तरे.)

p. 350 = 15/1–4 —विवादचिन्तामणौ वशिष्ठः। 'शुक्रशोणितसम्भवः.... पूर्वेषामि'ति। (Part of the quot. on p. 113 of U.T.)

(B) The Gṛhyasūtras

(a) *Āśvalāyana*

1. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Āś.

p. 204 = —आश्वलायनसूत्रम्। 'नामान्य...प्रपितामहा' इति।

p. 207 = —'एकोद्दिष्टस्य....न युज्यते' इत्यपि आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे।

p. 208 = 4/7/5-6 —व्यक्तमाह आश्वलायनः। 'अपः...आसनं प्रदाय' इति।

p. 275 = —एतेन 'प्रेतश्राद्धेषु.....प्रणववर्जितम्' इत्याश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टात्।

„ = —आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टेऽपि 'पितृशब्दं...चोपजायते' इत्युक्तम्।

p. 315 = —'प्राङ्मुखेभ्य....प्राङ्मुखो वा' इत्याश्वलायनवचनेऽपि।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Āś.

p. 333 = 1/24/9-10 —प्रक्षालयतीत्यनुवृत्तावाश्वलायनः। 'दक्षिणमग्रे.... शूद्राये'ति।

p. 421 = —शाकलपदव्युत्पत्तिमाह आश्वलायनः। 'अष्टावष्टौ.... स्यैनसः' इति।

3. Jyotistattva

J.T. Āś.

p. 604 = 1/4/1-2 —आश्वलायनः। 'उदगयने....विवाहाः।....इत्येके' इति। (Diff. readings in Āś.)

4. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Āś.

p. 871 = —आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'सीमन्तोन्नयनं...गार्भपात्रसंस्कारः इति श्रुति'रिति।

p. 882 = 1/4/1-2 —आश्वलायनः। 'उदगयने....विवाहाः।...इत्येके'। (The same as the quot. on p. 604 of J.T.)

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Sm.T. Āś.

p. 890 = ——हरिशर्मधृतम् आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'शिवदत्त-प्रपौत्री....तुभ्यं सम्प्रदत्ते' ति।

p. 928 = 1/4/1-2 ——आश्वलायनः। 'उदगयने....इत्येके'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 604 of J.T. and p. 882 of Sm.T.)

5. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Āś.

p. 132 = ——तथा चाश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'सीमन्तोन्नयनं....गार्भपात्रसंस्कारः इति श्रुति'रिति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 871 of Sm.T.)

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Āś.

p. 283 = 4/4/17 (second half portion), 18-19, 21 ——तत्रायं विशेषः 'दानाध्ययने....मितराचार्य्येषु' इति आश्वलायनवचने।

p. 309 = ——आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'अस्थिनाशे...यवपिष्टेन लेपयेत्'।

p. 313 = ——आश्वालायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टेनापि 'पितृशब्दं...चोपजायते' इत्युक्तम्। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 275 of Sr.T.)

p. 317 = ——आश्वलायनः। 'सव्यावृतो....विमृज्यासते' इति।

p. 319 = 4/4/14, 16, 17 (first half portion) ——आश्वलायनः। 'नैतस्यां....महागुरुष्वि'ति।

p. 323 = ——आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'असगोत्रः....समापयेत्'।

p. 334 = ——ऋग्वेदिनान्तु 'अनुदक....प्रकल्पयेत्' इत्याश्वलायन-गृह्यपरिशिष्टवचनात्।

7. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. Āś.

p. 495 = ——आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'प्रेतश्राद्धेषु....प्रणव-वर्जित'मिति। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 275 of Sr.T.)

8. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. Āś.

p. 545 = ——आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'सीमन्तोन्नयनं...श्रुति'-रिति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 871 of Sm.T. and p. 132 of U.T.)

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9. Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsargatattva

Y.V.T. Āś.

p. 642 = —तथा च आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम् । 'समूलान्.....आधारादीनिति शेषः' ।

(b) Pāraskara

1. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. P.

p. 203 = —पारस्करप्रचेतसौ । 'गोत्रसम्बन्ध....कल्पयन्' ।

p. 223 = —'गायत्रीं....जपेत्' इति मिताक्षराधृतपारस्करवचनात् ।

,, = —'मध्वित्येतत् त्रिकं जपेत्' इति पारस्करवचनाच्च ।

pp. 250-1 = —पारस्करः । 'पित्रादित्रिषु....पित्रादित्रिकमात्रश्राद्धं कर्तव्यम्' ।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. P.

p. 333 = —पारस्करः । 'सव्यं....प्रक्षालयती'ति ।

p. 464 = —पुत्रानुत्पत्तौ पारस्करः । 'सा यदि....जनयत्यभित' इति ।

3. Jyotistattva

J.T. P.

pp. 651-2 = 1/17/5-6 —पारस्करः । 'चतुर्थे मासि....तच्चक्षुरिती'ति ।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. P.

p. 738 = 1/12/1 —पारस्करः । 'पक्षादिषु....जुहोती'ति ।

p. 747 = —पारस्करः । 'विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु....तथाब्दिके' ।

5. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. P.

p. 882 = 1/4/5-7 —पारस्करः । 'कुमार्याः....उत्तरादिषु ।....रोहिण्यां वे'ति ।

6. Udvāhatattva

U.T. P.

pp. 145-6 = 1/4/2-3, and 5-6 —अथ च पारस्करेण 'बहिःशालायामुपलिप्ते...समाधाये'ति सूत्रात् प्रधानगृहाङ्गणे....'कुमार्याः....उत्तरादिषु' इति सूत्रान्तरेण पाणिग्रहणविधानात् । (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 882 of Sm.T.)

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7. Śuddhitattva

S.T. P.	
p. 260 =	—तथा मिताक्षरायां पारस्करः। 'गर्भे....सूतकं भवेत्'।
pp. 268-9 = 1/17/1	—'दशम्यामुत्थाप्य.....नाम करोति' इति पारस्करवचनात्।
p. 269 = 1/17/1	—पारस्करीयदशम्यामित्यस्य।
p. 306 = 3/10/10	—'यद्युपेतो....समान'मिति पारस्करसूत्रात्।
p. 311 = 3/10/13–21	—पारस्करः। 'संप्रयुक्तं....असावेतत्त' इति।
p. 321 = 3/10/27-28	—पारस्करः। 'प्रेताय.....उच्चार्य्ये'ति।
p. 333 =	—त्र्यहपिण्डदाने....पारस्करः। 'प्रथमे दिवसे....क्षालयेत्तथा'।
p. 334 =	—पयःशब्दात् जलं दुग्धञ्च प्रतीयते पारस्करीये तथा दर्शनात्। पारस्करीये 'तां रात्रि'मित्यभिधानादेकरात्रमावश्यकं....फलातिशयार्थम्।
p. 372 = 3/8/15 and 17, 3/9/1-2	—पारस्करेण 'शूलगवमभिधाय...व्याख्यात' इत्युक्तम्।
p. 373 = 3/9/4	—'मध्ये गवां....जुहोति' इति पारस्करीयसूत्रेऽग्निं कृत्वे'त्यनेन...व्यर्थं स्यात्।

8. Vāstuyāgatattva

V.Y.T. P.	
p. 400 = 3/10/16-17	—तथा हि उदकक्रियामधिकृत्य पारस्करः। 'सर्वे ज्ञातयो...सम्बन्धमनुस्मरेयुर्वा' इति। (Part of the quot. on p. 311 of S.T.)
p. 409 = 3/10/13–21	—'उदकं....तर्पयेयुः'। (Part of the quot. on p. 311 of S.T.)

9. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. P.	
p. 500 =	—न चैवमेकोद्दिष्टेऽपि 'उपतिष्ठतामित्यक्षय्यस्थाने' इति पारस्करदर्शनात्।
p. 501 =	—'न स्वधाञ्च प्रयुञ्जीते'ति पारस्करसूत्रेण।
p. 502 =	—'हिरण्यं....शक्नुयात्' इति **नव्यवर्धमान**-धृत-पारस्करवचनात्।

10. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. P.	
p. 533 =	—वरणविधिमाह पारस्करः। 'आसनमाहार्य्याहि...भवन्त-'मिति।

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11. Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsargatattva

Y.V.T. P.

p. 636 = 3/9/1-2, 3/8/6 ——पारस्करः। 'अथ वृषोत्सर्गो गोयज्ञे व्याख्यात' इति।... तथा च सूत्रम्। 'स्थालीपाक.... ईशानाय इति च'।

p. 637 = 3/9/4 ——वृषोत्सर्गविधौ पारस्करः। 'मध्ये...षड्जुहोति'।

p. 638 = 3/9/5 ——यथा पारस्करः। 'पूषा...स्वाहा इति पौष्णस्य'।

p. 639 = ——यथा पारस्करः। 'गृहस्थालीपाकानां....कर्मानुष्ठानम्' व्याख्यास्यते इति शेषः।

p. 644 = ——ततः प्रकृतकर्माह पारस्करः। 'रुद्रान्...एतेनैवोत्सृजेरन्' इति।....पारस्करः। 'मध्यस्थ....शेषेणे'ति।

(c) *Gobhila*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Gobh.

p. 2 = 1/5/7 ——तथा हि गोभिलः। 'सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसोर्यः परः सन्निकर्षः साऽमावस्या' इति।....'सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसोर्यः परो विप्रकर्षः सा पौर्णमासी' इति गोभिलोक्तेन।

p. 3 = ——युग्ममाह गृह्यपरिशिष्टं निगमश्च। 'युग्मान्नि...पुराकृतम्'।

p. 6 = ——अतएव 'ययास्तं सविता....स्वयम्भुवा' इति गृह्यपरिशिष्टीयेन.....यथा 'मध्याह्नव्यापिनी..... विशिष्यते'।

p. 10 = 1/1/3 ——यत्र तु 'यदहर्वा वृद्धिरापद्येत' इति गोभिलसूत्रेण..... तत्र 'प्रागावर्तनादह्नः कालं विद्यात्' इति गोभिलसूत्रान्तरेण।

p. 11 = ——गोभिलेन...'अत ऊर्द्धं...प्रेतः स्यात्' इति सूत्रेण।

p. 13 = 1/2/8 ——यथाचमने 'अक्षिणी नासिके कर्णौ' इति गोभिलसूत्रस्थपाठक्रममुल्लङ्घ्य....अत्र च 'शेषमन्नमनुज्ञाप्य....पिण्डान् दद्यात्' इति गोभिलसूत्रेण 'सर्वस्मात्....द्रव्यशेषेण' इत्यनेन च।

p. 14 = 1/8/16 ——'यज्ञवास्तु.....वसतीति'.....'प्राक्स्विष्टिकृत आवाप' इति गोभिलसूत्रस्य।

p. 55 = ——यथा गोभिलः। 'अष्टकायोर्द्धं....मिश्राष्टमी' इति।....तथा च गोभिलः। 'यद्युवा... पशुनैव कुर्य्यात्' इति।....न च 'तैष्या....गौः' गोभिलसूत्रेण.... वाच्यं....यथा गोभिलः। 'अपि वा....कुर्वीत' इति।

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T.T. Gobh.

p. 85 = 1/5/7 ——तथा च गोभिलः। 'सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसोर्यः परो विप्रकर्षः सा पौर्णमासी' इति।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 2 of T.T.)

p. 94 = 1/6/13–21 ——तत्र....प्रकारमाह गोभिलः। 'अग्नेणाग्निं...परावसु इति, अप उपस्पृश्यांथ...सीदामि' इति, 'अग्न्यभिमुखो ....विष्णवे इति ब्रूयात्। यद्युवोभयं....ब्रह्मत्वञ्च इति, तेन कल्पेन छत्रं....न्यच्चेष्टेत' इति।

p. 98 = ——'उत्तानेनैव हस्तेन....जुहुयाद्धविः' इति महादाननिर्णय-धृत-गोभिलवचनात्।

p. 99 = 1/2–6*a*, 8, 9*b*-10*a*, 11*a*, 16*a*, 68 ——अग्नेर्नामानि गोभिलपुत्रकृतगृह्यसंग्रहे 'लौकिके....विहितो ऽनलः'। तथा 'शुभं.....नवेनाभिमुखञ्च तत्'।
(G.S. has diff. readings)

p. 169 = 1/5/8 ——'यदहस्त्वेव चन्द्रमा न दृश्येत तामावस्यां कुर्वीत' इति गोभिलविरोधः।.....तत्राह स एव। 'यदुक्तं....

1/5/8 चेत्यपि। यदहस्त्वेव....कुर्वीत' इति यत् गोभिलसूत्रं।
(The last portion is the same as the first portion.)

p. 170 = 1/5/8, 1/5/9 ——एवञ्च 'यदहस्त्वेव.....कुर्वीत' इति श्रुतिरेतत्..... 'अथैवं दृश्यमानेऽप्येकदा' इति यद् गोभिलस्य सूत्रान्तरं ....इत्यत आह स एव 'यच्चोक्तं...निर्वपेत्'।
(The first quotation is the same as the first and last portions of the quot. on p. 169 of T.T.)

p. 176 = ——'गोत्रं स्वरान्तं.....न मुह्यति' इति गोभिलेन विशेषतो-ऽभिधानात्।

pp. 176-7 = ——एवं 'सर्वत्रैव पितः....तृप्तिमिच्छता' इति गोभिल-वचनात्....वक्तव्यम्।

p. 177 = ——'मातामहानामप्येवं दैवपूर्वं श्राद्धं कुर्वीत' इति गोभिल-सूत्रेण।

pp. 177-8 ——'दर्भेषु मधुमध्वित्यक्षन्नमी....दद्यादवनेनिज्य' इति गोभिलसूत्रे।

p. 178 = ——'प्रक्षाल्य पाणी....कर्णौ' इति गोभिलसूत्रे च।

p. 183 = ——तथा च कात्यायनगोभिलौ। 'उत्तानं पात्रं.....दक्षिणां दद्यात्' इति।....'पिण्डपितृयज्ञवदुपचारः पित्र्ये' इति गोभिलसूत्रेण।

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2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T.	Gobh.	
p. 189 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'अथ श्राद्धम्.....प्रतिगृह्णीयादिति'। ....यत् गृह्ये 'आन्वष्टक्यं स्थालीपाकेन'....'अमावास्यायां....मासीनम्' इति सूत्रे गोभिलेन।
,,	=	—'श्रद्धान्वितः श्राद्धं कुर्वीत' इति गोभिलसूत्रात्।
p. 190 =		—व्यक्तमाह गोभिलः। 'पितृभ्यः.....स्वधोच्यताम्' इति।
p. 195 =		—ब्राह्मणप्रतिनिधित्वेन गोभिलगृह्ये 'कमण्डलुं...निधाये'ति दृष्टम्।
,,	= 1/6/21	—'यद्युवा....निधाय' इति गोभिलसूत्रेण। (Part of the quot. on p. 94 of T.T.)
p. 196 =		—उपवेशतामाह गोभिलः। 'स्नातान्....श्राद्धं कुर्वीत' इति।
,,	=	—यथा गोभिलः। 'सव्यं पादम्....दक्षिणं पादं प्रक्षालयति' इति।
p. 201 =		—'शूक.....सर्वतृणानीति' गोभिलेन।
p. 203 =		—गोभिलोऽपि। 'गोत्रं स्वरान्तं....दत्तमक्षयम्'। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 176 of T.T.)
p. 207 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'पिण्डपितृ....पित्र्ये' इति। (The same as the 2nd quotation on p. 183 of T.T.)
pp. 207-8 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'पित्र्ये.....दर्भानास्तीर्य्येति'।
p. 209 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'यवानादाय....पारयामसि' इति।
pp. 209-10 =		—गोभिलः। 'पित्र्ये....विकीर्य्य' इति।
p. 210 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'अप....शन्नो देवीति'।
p. 211 =		—गोभिलः। 'एकैकस्मिन्नेव....ऽर्घ्यमिति'।
p. 212 =		—'एकोऽर्घ्यः' इति गोभिलेन पुंस्त्वेन निर्दिष्टः।
p. 213 =		—गोभिलः। 'प्रथमे पात्रे....स्थानमसि' इति।
p. 214 =		—अत्र गोभिलसूत्रे 'पितृपात्रे' इत्यभिधानात्।
p. 215 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'गन्ध....सम्प्रदानमि'ति।
p. 218 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'उद्धृत....वन्धुत्वाच्चे'ति।
p. 220 =		—तत्र गोभिलः। 'हुतशेषं.....जुहोमि स्वाहा'।
p. 221 =		—गोभिलः। 'वैष्णव्यर्चा....उष्णमन्नं दद्यादि'ति।

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Sr.T. Gobh.

p. 228 = —गोभिलः । 'त्रिफली.....सकृत् पितृभ्यः' इति ।

p. 230 = —तत्र गोभिलः । 'सकृत्.....सप्रणवामि'ति ।

p. 231 = —गोभिलः । 'तृप्तिं.....पराङ्गतिमि'ति ।

p. 232 = —गोभिलः । 'सकृत्.....मनुज्ञाप्ये'ति ।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 230.)

p. 233 = —गोभिलेन मन्त्ररहितजलदानाभिधानात् ।

" = —तत्र गोभिलः । 'सर्वमन्न....अवनेनिज्ये'ति ।
(Partly the same as the quot. on pp. 177-8 of T.T.)

p. 234 = —अपहतेति अन्वष्टकायां गोभिलगृह्यात् ।

p. 235 = —गोभिलगृह्यतत्परिशिष्टविरोधाच्छाख्यन्तरीयम् । तत-श्चोक्तगोभिलसूत्रे दर्भेषु पिण्डदानाभिधानात् ।

pp. 235-6 = —तथा च गोभिलगृह्यम् । 'अत्र पितृनावाहयति...गवे वा दद्यादि'ति ।

p. 238 = —'मातामहानामप्येवं.....श्राद्धं कुर्वीते'ति गोभिलसूत्रेण ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 177 of T.T.)

p. 239 = —'दर्भेषु....अवनेनिज्ये'ति गोभिलसूत्रे ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 177-8 of T.T. and part of the 2nd quot. on p. 233 of Sr.T.)

p. 240 = 1/2/5 —'त्रिराचामेद्विः परिमृजीते'ति गोभिलैकवाक्यत्वात् ।

p. 242 = —'आचान्तेषूदकपुष्पाक्षताक्षय्योदकञ्च दद्यात्' इति गोभिल-....सूत्रोक्ता ।

p. 243 = —'गोत्रं॰ स्वरान्तं.....कर्मणि' इत्यादि प्रागुक्तगोभिल-वचनत्रये । (Part of the quot. on p. 176 of T.T. and of that on p. 203 of Sr.T.)

pp. 243-4 = —गोभिलः । 'अघोराः....निषिञ्चती'ति ।

p. 244 = —'पिण्डपितृयज्ञवदुपचारः' इति गोभिलसूत्रेण ।
(Part of the 2nd quot. on p. 183 of T.T. and of the quot. on p. 207 of Sr.T.)

pp. 245-6 = —भट्टेन यद्व्याख्यातं तद्गोभिलश्राद्धसूत्रादर्शनात् । तथा च ....गोभिलः । 'उत्तानं पात्रं...दक्षिणां दद्यादि'ति ।
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 183 of T.T.)

pp. 246-7 = —गोभिलः । 'विश्वे देवाः.....वृद्धिश्रेतु' इति ।

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Sr.T. Gobh.	
p. 252 =	—अन्यतिथावपि श्राद्धमाह गोभिलः (गोतमः?)। अथ 'श्राद्धम्....शक्तित' इति। (The same as the quot. from Gaut. on p. 173 of T.T.)
p. 259 =	—तथा च गोभिलः। 'यद्युवाल्प....कुर्य्यादि'ति। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 55 of T.T.)
,, =	—न च 'तैष्या ऊर्द्धमष्टम्यां गौः' इति गोभिलसूत्रेण। (The same as the 3rd quot. on p. 55 of T.T.)
p. 270 = 1/5/8	—'यदहस्त्वेव....कुर्वीत' इति गोभिलविरोधः।.... तत्राह स एव। 'यदुक्तं....कुर्वीत' इति यद्गोभिलसूत्रं ....अन्यथा गोभिलीय-तादृशसूत्रान्तरेण सह। (The two quotations together are the same as those on p. 169 of T.T.)
,, = 1/5/9, 1/5/8	—'अथैवं दृश्यमानेऽप्येकदा' इति गोभिलसूत्रान्तरं व्यर्थं 'यदहस्त्वेवे' त्यादिद्वितीयसूत्रप्राप्ततिथेः....अत आह स एव 'यच्चोक्तं....निर्वपेत्'।....अत आह 'अमावास्यां प्रतीक्षेते'ति। (The first three quotations are the same as those on p. 170 of T.T.)
p. 273 =	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'अथैकोद्दिष्टमेकं....प्रेतश्राद्ध'मिति।
p. 274 =	—'तत एव....कुरुते' इति गोभिलसूत्रे।
p. 282 = 1/5/7	—तथा हि 'सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसोर्यः....सामावास्या' इति गोभिलात्। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 2 of T.T.)
pp. 288-9 =	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'पूर्णे....शतं समाः' इति।
p. 291 = 1/1/3	—तथा हि 'प्रागावर्तनादह्नः कालं विद्यात्' इति गोभिल-गृह्यसूत्रेण। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 10 of T.T.)
p. 296 =	—परवचनं गोभिलश्राद्धसूत्रभाष्यकृतापि लिखितम्।
p. 302 =	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'अत ऊर्द्धं संवत्सरे...प्रेतः स्यादि'ति। (The same as the quot. on p. 11 of T.T.)
p. 307 =	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'अथाभ्युदयिके....प्रयुञ्जीत' इति।
pp. 314-5 =	—व्यक्तमाह गोभिलभाष्ये यशोधरधृतवचनम्। 'कृत्वा... मन्त्रितम्' गोभिलानुक्तस्यान्नप्राशनस्याप्यनेनाभ्युदयिकश्राद्ध-वत्त्वं प्रतीयते।

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3. Āhnikatattva

A.T.	Gobh.	
p. 333 =		——क्रममाह गोभिलः। 'सव्यं....तथा कल्प्यते'। (= p. 196 [2nd quot.] of Sr.T.)
p. 337 =		——आचमनानुवृत्तौ गोभिलः। 'नान्तरीयैकदेशेन कल्पयित्वोत्तरीयकम्' इति।
p. 338 =	1/2/5–8	——गोभिलः। 'त्रिरात्रामेत्....कर्णाविति'। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 240 of Sr.T.)
p. 339 =		——एतत्परमेव 'अन्ततः प्रत्युपस्पृश्य शुचिः' इति गोभिलसूत्रम्।
p. 372 =		——तेषान्तु 'वैश्रवणाय....चोपजाय' इत्यन्त....गोभिलेन तर्पणाभिधानात्। 'आप्लवने तु सम्प्रान्ते तर्पणं...स्नानमेव वृथा भवेत्' इति गोभिलीयवचनाभ्याञ्च।
p. 375 =	1/2/2-3	——उपवीतित्वं....गोभिलः। 'दक्षिणं...प्राचीनावीती भवति' इति।
p. 378 =		——गोभिलः। 'गोत्रं....दत्तमक्षयम्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 203 of Sr.T.)
p. 379 =		——अत्र मन्त्रमाह गोभिलः। 'ये चास्माकं....नोदकम्'।
p. 389 =		——'नमो ब्रह्मणे....चे'त्येव मन्त्रेणोपस्थानमुक्त्वा गोभिलेनाग्नि....तर्पणमभिधाय ततः 'प्रत्युपस्थानं...जप्त्वा' इति सूत्रान्तरेण गायत्रीजपरूपोपस्थानमुक्तम्।
pp. 390-1 =		——गोभिलः। 'कदाचिदपि....पापेन लिप्यते'।
pp. 392-3 =		——प्राणायामादि.....गोभिलः। 'तथातः सन्ध्योपासनविधिं...ते श्रोत्रिया भवन्तीति'।
pp. 420-1 =		——महादाननिर्णये गोभिलः। 'उत्तानेन....जुहुयाद्धविः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 98 of T.T.)
p. 423 =		——बलीनां पूर्वापरयोः सेकमाह गोभिलः। 'सर्वेषामुभयोरद्भिः परिषेकः' इति।
" =		——पितृवल्य....दानमाह गोभिलः। 'तथैतद्...पितृभ्यो भवति'।
pp. 431-2 =		——एतत्समानार्थं....गोभिलः। 'भुञ्जानेषु....तथोच्यते'।
p. 464 =		——'नस्यं दधाति.....संविष्टाया' इति गोभिलस्मरणात्।

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4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Gobh.

p. 469 = 1/1/2 —'यज्ञोपवीतिना . . . . कृत्यम्' इति गोभिलोक्तम् ।

p. 521 = —स्मृतिसागरे गोभिलः । 'कर्ण . . . . ब्राह्मणादयः' ।

p. 537 = —स्मृतिसागरसारे गोभिलः । 'मुष्कमोषकरो . . . साक्षाद्वधी भवेत्' ।

5. Jyotistattva

J.T. Gobh.

p. 650 = 2/8/8 —गोभिलः । 'जननाद् . . . . . नामधेयकरण'मिति ।

p. 651 = 2/8/16 —गोभिलः । 'अयुग्दान्तं . . . . . स्त्रीणामिति' ।

p. 671 = —गृह्मुपक्रम्य गोभिलः । 'वर्जयेत् . . . . मुडुम्बराः' ।

6. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Gobh.

p. 738 = 1/5/5 —यथा गोभिलः । 'पक्षान्ता . . . . यष्टव्याः' ।

p. 740 = —गोभिलोऽपि । 'आवर्तने . . . . परेऽह्नि' ।

p. 744 = 1/1/3 —गोभिलेनापि 'उदगयने . . . . कालं विद्यात्' इति ।
(Partly the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 10 of T.T. and the quot. on p. 291 of Sr.T.)

p. 755 = 1/5/7 —यथा गोभिलः । 'सूर्य्या . . . . सामावास्या' इति ।
(= 1st quot. on p. 2 of T.T. and p. 282 of Sr.T.)

p. 765 = 1/5/7 —तथा च गोभिलः । 'सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसोर्यः . . . सा पौर्णमासी' ।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 2 of T.T. and the quot. on p. 85 of T.T.)

p. 814 = —गोभिलभट्टभाष्ये श्रुतिः । 'गृहमेधी . . . . . पुरातनैर्वा' इति ।

p. 851 = —'यदहर्वा वृद्धिरापद्येत' इति गोभिलसूत्रेण ।
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 10 of T.T.)

7. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Gobh.

p. 858 = 1/1/9-10 —तद्विधिमाह गोभिलः । 'अनुगुप्ता . . . सर्वत्रेति' ।

,, = 1/41*b*-42*a* —गृह्यासंग्रहे गोभिलपुत्रः । 'प्राङ्नीचं . . . . समम्' ।

,, = 1/60*b*-61*a* —गृह्यासंग्रहः । 'इन्द्रेण . . . . तदर्थमुपलेपयेत्' इति ।
(Diff. readings in G.S.)

,, = 1/53*b*-54*a* —गृह्यासंग्रहः । 'उत्करं . . . . स्मृतम्' इति ।
(Diff. readings in G.S.)

p. 859 = 1/51*b*-52*a* —गृह्यासंग्रहः । 'सव्यं भूमौ . . . . निधापयेत्' ।

G.S.

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Sm.T.	Gobh.	
p. 859 =	1/1/11	——अग्नि. . . . गोभिलः । 'ओं भूर्भुवः. . . . प्रणयन्तीति' ।
p. 862 =	1/6/13–21	——गोभिलः । 'अग्रेणाग्निं. . . . परावसुः इति । अप. . . चेष्टेदि 'ति । (The same as the quot. on p. 94 of T.T.)
p. 864 =	1/7/1–8	——तत्र गोभिलः । 'अथोदूखल. . . . . प्रत्यभिधारयेदि 'ति ।
p. 867 =		——तदाह चतुर्थे प्रथमकण्डिकायां गोभिलः । 'पश्चादग्नेर्भूमौ . . . . प्रतिस्थाप्य' इति ।
p. 868 =		——'अग्निमुपसमाधाय. . . . न्यच्छादयन्' इति ।
„ =	1/5/14	——गोभिलः । 'अथेध्मान्. . . . पालासान्(°शान्?) वे 'ति ।
p. 869 =		——गोभिलः । 'बहिःसु. . . . अमन्त्रकम्' । . . . आज्यमाह गृह्यासंग्रहे । 'अग्निना. . . . . विधीयते' ।
„ =	1/7/21-22	——संस्कारविधिमाह गोभिलः । 'ततः एव. . . वैष्णव्यौ' इति ।
p. 870 =	1/7/23, 1/7/24-25	——गोभिलः । 'अथैने. . . . पूते स्थ' इति । . . . . गोभिलः । 'संपूयोत्पुनात्युदगग्राभ्यां. . . . रश्मिभिः स्वाहा' इति । . . . . . गोभिलः । 'अथैतदाज्यमधिश्रित्य. . . . भवती 'ति ।
p. 871 =	1/8/1	——गोभिलः । 'पूर्वमाज्य. . . . स्थालीपाकः' इति ।
p. 872 =		——पाण्याहुतौ तु गोभिलः । 'उत्तानेनैव. . . जुहुयाद्धविः' । (The same as the quot. on p. 98 of T.T. and pp. 420-1 of A.T.)
p. 873 =	1/3/1–5	——गोभिलः । 'अग्निमुपसमाधाय. . . होमीयम्' इति । . . . . चतुर्थप्रपाठकीयप्रथमकण्डिकायां गोभिलः । 'वैरूपाक्षः . . . . द्धोमानामिति' ।
p. 874 =		——गोभिलः । 'काम्येषु. . . . त्यादिकः' । . . . . स एव । 'तपश्च. . . . . चक्षुसेत्' ।
p. 876 =	1/9/27-28, 1/8/3-4	——गोभिलः । 'आज्याहुति. . . गोदाने' इति । . . . . . गोभिलः । 'यद्युवा. . . जुहोतीति' ।
p. 877 =	1/8/11–19	——गोभिलः । 'अथ स्विष्टिकृत. . . हरेदिति' ।
p. 878 =	1/3/11	——अत्र गोभिलः । 'समिधमाधाय. . . . मन्त्रे विशेषः' । . . . . . गोभिलानुक्तमपि तत्परिशिष्टोक्तं कुर्य्यात् तद् यथा 'यत्र. . . . स्मृतः' । . . . तथा च गोभिलः । 'महा. . . चतुर्थीमिति' ।
pp. 878-9 =	1/9/27	——तथा च गोभिलः । 'आज्या. . . . होम इति' ।
p. 879 =	1/8/26–29	——गोभिलः । 'समिधमादाया. . . . चक्षत इति' ।

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Sm.T. Gobh.	
p. 880 = 1/9/29	—तथा च गोभिलः। 'अपवृत्ते . . . शान्त्यर्थमिति'।
p. 886 =	—तथा च चतुर्थप्रपाठके दशमकण्डिकायां गोभिलः। 'उत्तरतो . . . . पुत्रवाससा' इति। . . . . मन्त्रमाह स एव। 'इदमह- . . . . मर्हयन्तः स्युः'।
p. 887 =	—अर्हणप्रकारमाह स एव। 'विष्टर . . . . निर्वेदयेरन्निति'।
,, =	—तत्सम्भवे गोभिलः। 'मधुपर्कं . . . कांस्येनेति'।
p. 888 =	—गोभिलोऽप्यागमनमात्र एव वरार्हणमुक्तवान्। . . . . . 'या औषधी . . . विशति'।
,, =	—गोभिलः। 'सव्यं . . . . . पादमवनेनिजे' . . . . । गोभिलः। 'पूर्वमन्य . . . . शेषेण'। . . . . गोभिलः। 'अन्नस्य राष्ट्रिरसि' इति। . . . . गोभिलः। 'यशो . . . माचामेत्'।
pp. 888-9 =	—गोभिलः। 'यशसो . . . . गृह्णीयात्'। . . . . . तथा। 'यशसो . . . धेहीति त्रिः पिबेत्'। 'तूष्णीं चतुर्थमिति'।
p. 889 =	—तथा च गोभिलः। 'आचान्तोदकाय . . . . मन्त्रयेदिति'।
,, = 2/1/1, 1/1/3	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'पुण्ये . . . . . दारान् कुर्वीत'। . . . . एवम् 'उदगयने . . . . विद्यादिति' तस्यैव सूत्रान्तरेण। (The 2nd quot. almost identical with the quot. on p. 744 of M.T. and partly the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 10 of T.T. and the quot. on p. 291 of Sr.T.)
p. 895 = 2/1/12–17	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'पाणिग्रहणे . . . . भवति'। . . . गोभिलः। 'अथ जनन्यामेको . . . . . ऽवतिष्ठते'। . . . . गोभिलः। 'प्राजनेनान्यः' इति। . . . . गोभिलः। 'शमीपलाश- मिश्रान् . . . . पश्चादग्नेः' इति। . . . . गोभिलः। 'तथा दृशत्पुत्रञ्च'। . . . . 'अथ यस्याः पाणिं . . . . साप्लुता भवति'।
p. 896 = 2/1/18-19	—तथा 'आहतेन . . . . तयर्चा' . . . . गोभिलः। 'परिधत . . . . गन्धर्वायेति'।
p. 897 = 2/1/20–26, 2/2/1-2	—गोभिलः। 'पश्चादग्नेः . . . . कल्पतामिति'। . . . . 'स्वयं . . . . विशति' इति। . . . . 'दक्षिणेन . . . . प्रभृतिरिति'। . . . . . 'महाव्याहृतिभिः पृथक्। समस्ताभिश्चतुर्थीम्'। . . . . . 'हुत्वोपेत्य अवतिष्ठत' इति। . . . . 'अनुपृष्ठं . . . . गृहीत्वा'।

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Sm.T.	Gobh.
p. 898 = 2/2/3–8	—'पूर्वा माता....रोहा' इति।....'सकृत्..... नार्य्युपवृते' इति।....'अर्य्यमणं...त्युत्तरयोः'।... 'हुते पति... पितृभ्य' इति।
p. 899 = 2/2/9–13	—'परिणीता...एवं त्रिः'।...'सूर्पेण....ब्रूयात्'।
pp. 901-2 = 2/3/4–7	—गोभिलः। 'तस्मिन्नेतां....आनक्षत्रदर्शनात्।..... पततीति'।
p. 905 = 2/4/1–4, 6	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'यानमारोहन्त्यां....जपेत्'।.... 'अध्वनि.....परिपन्थिनः' इति। 'अक्षभङ्गे..... रोहेत्'।....'पाणिग्राहको....आरोपयेदिति'।.... 'गृहङ्गतां....प्रजायध्वमिति'।
p. 906 = 2/5/1	—गोभिलः। 'अथातश्चतुर्थीकर्म'।
p. 907 = 2/5/5–7	—गोभिलः। 'आहुतेराहुतेस्तु...ऽवनयेत्'।....'तेन एनां...प्लावयन्ति'।....'ऊर्द्धं....इत्येके'।
„ = 2/5/8	—गोभिलः। 'यदा....सम्भवकालः'।
p. 909 = 2/5/9-10	—गोभिलः। 'दक्षिणेन....सम्भवतः'।
„ = 2/6/1	—गोभिलः। 'तृतीयस्य...कालः'।
pp. 910-11 = 2/6/3–8,	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'पश्चात्...त्येतयर्चा'।....'अथ यथार्थम्'।....'सकृदेव....जुहोतीति' गोभिलसूत्रान्तरात्।.....'अथापरम्'। 'प्रागुदीच्यां..... वैहायसीं निदध्यात्'।
pp. 911-12 = 2/6/9–12	—'दृशदं....अथ यथार्थम्'।
p. 912 = 2/7/1-2	—गोभिलः। 'अथ सीमन्त...ऽष्टमे वा'।
p. 913 = 2/7/3–5	—गोभिलः। 'प्रातः....वृक्ष इति'।....'अथ सीमन्तमूर्द्धं...स्वरिति तृतीयम्'।
p. 914 = 2/7/6–10, 12	—गोभिलः। 'अथ वीर...त्येतयर्चा'।...'अथ पूर्ण ....यर्चा'....'त्रिःश्वेतया...सुमतय इति'।.... 'कृषर....वेक्षयेत्'।.....'किं पश्यसीत्युक्त्वा... वाचयेत्'।....'वीरसू....सीरन्'।
p. 915 = 2/7/13–15	—(गोभिलः।) 'अथ शोष्यन्तीहोमः'।...'सुप्रसवे.... पुच्छमभवत् इति'।.....'पुमानयं...नामे'ति।
„ = 2/7/17	—गोभिलः। 'यदास्मै....स्तनप्रतिधानेन चेति।'
p. 916 = 2/7/18–23	—गोभिलः। 'ब्रीहियवौ...शुङ्गाम्'।....'दक्षिणस्य ...इयमाज्ञेति'।...'तथैव....सदसस्पतिमिति च'। ....'कृन्तत...दशरात्रात्'।

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Sm.T.	Gobh.	
p. 917 =	2/8/8–12	—तत्र गोभिलः। 'जननाद्....नामधेयकरणम्'।... 'अथ यस्तत्...विशति'।.....'अथ माता.... देवतायै' इति। (The first quot. is the same as the quot. on p. 650 of J.T.)
p. 918 =	2/8/13-14	—गोभिलः। 'तस्य च मुख्यान्...नाम दध्यात्'।
p. 919 =	2/8/15	—गोभिलः। 'एतदतद्धितम्'।
,, =	2/8/16	—गोभिलः। 'अयुग्दान्तं स्त्रीणाम्'। (= p. 651 of J.T.)
,, =	2/8/17-18	—गोभिलः। 'मात्रे चैव...यथार्थम्'।....'गौर्दक्षिणा'।
,, =	2/8/1	—गोभिलः। 'जननाद्...पितोत्तिष्ठते'।
p. 920 =	2/8/2–5	—'अथ माता...शिरसम्'।....'अनुपृष्ठं...तिष्ठते'। ...'अथ जपति...यथार्थम्'।
,, =	1/1/5	—तत्र वृद्धिश्राद्धमाह गोभिलः। 'सर्वाण्येवा...वन्ति'।
p. 921 =	2/8/6-7	—गोभिलः। 'अथ ये....कर्मा संवत्सरम्'।
p. 922 =	2/9/1	—गोभिलः। 'अथातस्तृतीये वर्षे चूडाकरणम्'।
p. 923 =	2/9/2–5	—गोभिलः। 'पुरस्ताच्छालायाः.....भवतीति'।.... गोभिलः। 'तत्रैव.....भवन्ति'। .....तान्यीह। 'एक....दक्षिणतः'....गोभिलः। 'आनडुहो.... इत्युत्तरतः'।
p. 924 =	2/9/6–11	—'व्रीहियवै.....निदध्युः'। गोभिलः। 'कृषरो.... सर्वबीजानि चेति'।...'अथ माता...विशति।'...'अथ यस्तत्...तिष्ठते'।...'अथ जपति...संप्रेक्षमाणः'।
pp. 924-5 =	2/9/12	—गोभिलः। 'दक्षिणेन...जीवसे इति'।
pp. 925-6 =	2/9/13–21	—गोभिलः। 'विष्णोर्दंष्ट्रो...आदर्शं वा'।...'औषधे ...निदधाति'।...गोभिलः। 'ता वामेनाभिगृह्य... द्विस्तूष्णीम्'।.....गोभिलः। 'अथायसेन..... निदधाति'।....गोभिलः। 'एतयैवावृता कपुच्छलम्'। ....गोभिलः। 'एतयोत्तरां कपुष्णिकाम्'।.... गोभिलः। 'उन्दन....निवर्तयेत्'।....'उभाभ्यां .....जमदग्नेरिति'।
p. 926 =	2/9/22–29, 2/10/1–6	—'एतयैवावृता.....तु होमः'।.....गोभिलः। 'उदगग्ने...गोत्रकुलकल्पम्'।....गोभिलः। 'आन- डुहे...निखनन्ति'।...'स्तम्बे....निदधति'।...

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'यथार्थं। गौर्दक्षिणा'।...अत्र गोभिलः। 'गर्भाष्टमेषु .....न एभिर्विवाह्ययेयुः'।

p. 929 = 2/10/7 —गोभिलः। 'यदह....समाच्छादयन्ति'।

p. 930 = 2/10/9–12, 14 —'क्षौमं शानं....आविकं वैश्यस्य'।.....गोभिलः। 'ऐणेय....अजिनानि'।....गोभिलः। 'मुञ्ज... रसनाः'।...गोभिलः। 'पार्ण....दण्डाः'।..... 'अलाभे वा सर्वाणि सर्वेषाम्'।

p. 931 = 2/10/15–20 —गोभिलः। 'पुरस्ताच्छालाया....भवति'।..... गोभिलः। 'अग्ने....तिष्ठते'।.....गोभिलः। 'अन्तरेणा....दर्भेषु'।....'तस्य....उपरिष्टादा-चार्य्यस्य'।....गोभिलः। 'प्रेक्षमाणो.....महीति'। (The 1st quot. is the same as the 1st quot. on p. 923 of Sm.T.)

p. 932 = 2/10/21–29 —गोभिलः। 'आचार्य्यो....वाचयति'।...'को नामा ...इत्येके'।...गोभिलः। 'उत्सृज्या....गृह्णाम्यसौ' इति।....गोभिलः। 'अथैनं....वासाविति'।.... 'दक्षिणेन...ग्रन्थिरसीति'।....गोभिलः। 'उत्सृप्य ....भुव' इति।

p. 933 = 2/10/30–34 —'उत्सृप्य...कृशन् इति'।....'दक्षिणेन..... म्यसाविति'।....गोभिलः। 'सेव्येन....मासाविति' ....गोभिलः। 'अथैनं.....स्वाप्सी'रित्यपि।

p. 934 = 2/10/35–37 —गोभिलः। 'उदगग्ने...दर्भेषु'।...'प्रत्यङ्मानवको .....दर्भेषु'।.....'अथैनं त्रिः.....गोप्त्रीति च'।

p. 935-6 = 2/10/38–46 —गोभिलः। 'अथोपसीदत्य...ब्रवीत्विति'।....'तस्मा .....ऋक्शः इति'।....'महाव्याहृतीश्च.... ओंकारान्ताः'।....'वार्क्षमस्मै....माकुर्विति'।.... 'अथ भैक्षं चरति'। 'मातरमेवाग्रे....स्युः'।.... 'आचार्य्याय.....समर्पयति भोरिति'। 'तिष्ठत्यहःशेषं वाग्यतः'।.....'अस्तमिते....महार्षमिति'।

p. 937 = 2/10/47–50 —'त्रिरात्र...भवति'।....'तस्यान्ते...चरुः'।.... 'यथार्थं। गौर्दक्षिणा'।

" = —गोभिलः। 'सर्वत्रा.....विशेषः'।

p. 938 = —गोभिलः। 'अथाप्लवनम्'।

p. 947 = 1/7/2 —चरुद्रव्यमाह गोभिलः। 'अथ हविर्निर्वपति...वेति'

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8. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Gobh.

p. 19 = 1/1/5 —मैवं तेष्वपि गोभिलेन....विधानात् 'यथा सर्वाण्येवान्वाहार्य्यवन्ती'ति।.....तथा च गृह्यान्तरम्। 'यत् श्राद्धं....यदन्वाहार्य्यं तदुच्यते'। अतएव....सर्वाणि गोभिलोक्तानि।....एवञ्च गोभिलानुक्तेष्वन्नप्राशनादिषु ....गोभिलगृह्येऽप्यन्वष्टकादिश्राद्धविधानात्। तस्मादेकादश्यादिव्रते गोभिलगृह्यानुक्तत्वाद्विशेषवचनाभावाच्च न वृद्धिश्राद्धमिति।

9. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Gobh.

p. 111 = —'गोत्रं स्वरान्तं....न मुह्यति' इति गोभिलीयदर्शनाद्। (The same as the quot. on p. 176 of T.T.)

p. 132 = 1/1/5 —एवञ्च 'सर्वाण्येवान्वाहार्य्यवन्ती'ति गोभिलगृह्येण, 'यच्छ्राद्धं....यदन्वाहार्य्यं विदुर्बुधाः' इति गृह्यान्तरे। (Both the quot. are the same as the two quot. on p. 19 of E.T.)

pp. 137-8 = —तथाहि 'जुहुयाद्धवयेद्रे'ति गोभिलसूत्रेण विकल्पदर्शनात्।

10. Vratatattva

Vr.T. Gobh. (G.S.)

p. 154 = 1/68-69 —कांस्ये अग्निप्रणयनमाह गृह्यासंग्रहे। 'शुभं..... सर्वकर्मसु'॥

p. 155 = 1/8*b*, 9*b*, 16*a* —अत्र च पाकाङ्गत्वात् साहसनामानमग्निमाह गृह्यासंग्रहः। 'प्रायश्चित्ते....विहितोऽनलः'॥

p. 156 = 1/110*b*–112*a* —उपघातलक्षणमाह गृह्यासंग्रहः। 'पाणिना....स्विष्टिकृत्'॥

p. 157 = —तथा च गोभिलीयकर्मप्रदीपे। 'त्रातारमिन्द्र..... परिकीर्त्तितः'।

11. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Gobh.

p. 305 = —'विकच्छः.....पञ्चविधः स्मृतः' इति हरिशर्मधृतगोभिलात्।

p. 308 = —ततः 'कोष्ठे तु....अमृतभक्षणे' इति गोभिलीयपरिभाषितम्।

p. 313 = —'एतत् प्रेतश्राद्ध'मिति गोभिलवचनात्।

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S.T. Gobh.
p. 315 = ——छन्दोगानां गोभिलेन 'शर्मा तर्पणकर्मणी'ति सामान्यतोऽभिधानात् ।

p. 316 = ——तच्चान्ते 'शर्म...दत्तमक्षयम्' इति गोभिलदर्शनात् ।

" = ——तथा च गोभिलः । 'गोत्रं स्वरान्तं...न मुह्यति' इति । (The same as the quot. on p. 176 of T.T. and p. 111 of U.T.)

p. 332 = ——पिण्डपितृयज्ञे च गोभिलेन 'सव्येनैव...ते स्वधा' इति सूत्रतन्तुषु वासःप्रयोगात् वाक्यरचनाविधानाच्च ।

p. 375 = 1/9/8-9 ——न च 'ब्रह्मैव(°वैक ?)....होते'ति गोभिलसूत्रात्.... वाच्यम ।

" = ——अतएव दर्शादियागमात्रमभिधाय गोभिलेनापि 'पूर्णपात्रो...दद्यात्' इत्युक्तम् ।

p. 378 = 1/8*b* (G.S.) ——'प्रायश्चित्ते विधुश्चैव...साहसः' इति गोभिलपुत्रकृतगृह्यासंग्रहवचनात् । (Part of the 1st quot. on p. 99 of T.T. G.S. reads विधिश्चैव for विधुश्चैव.)

12. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. Gobh.
p. 495 = ——तन्न गोभिलेन तादृशपाठादर्शनात् । किन्तु 'आवाह्य आयान्तु न' इति कात्यायनेन तुल्य एव गोभिलेऽपि सर्वत्र पाठो दृश्यते ।

13. Devapratiṣṭhātattva

D.P.T. Gobh.
pp. 512-3 = 1/8/17 ——एकाग्नौ....गोभिलः । 'गणेष्वेकं...भागाविति' ।

14. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. Gobh.
p. 518 = ——यथा गोभिलः । 'वृद्धिः...यवैस्तिलार्थं' इति ।

p. 521 = ——गोभिलकात्यायनौ । 'ब्राह्मणौ...विनिर्दिशेत्' ।

15. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. Gobh.
p. 533 = 1/62*b*–64*a* (G.S.) ——गृह्यासंग्रहे । 'द्यूते....समाचरेत्' ।

p. 534 = 1/1/9-10 ——तमाह गोभिलः । 'अनुगुप्ता....सर्वत्रे'ति । (= 1st quot. on p. 858 of Sm.T.)

" = 1/41*b*-42*a*, 1/60*b*-61*a*, 1/53*b*-54*a* G.S. (Diff. readings in G.S.) ——प्राङ्नीचाविदेशफलमाह गृह्यासंग्रहे गोभिलपुत्रः । 'प्राङ्नीचं.....समम्'।.....तत्करणमाह गृह्यासंग्रहः। 'इन्द्रेण....मुपलेपयेत्'।...उत्करप्रक्षेपदेशमाह गृह्यासंग्रहः । 'उत्करं....स्मृतम्' । (= the last three quot. on p. 858 of Sm.T.)

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C.V.T.	Gobh.	
p. 535 =	1/1/11, 1/51*b*-52*a* (G.S.)	——अग्निस्थापनमन्त्रमाह गोभिलः। 'भूर्भुवः. . .प्रणयन्ति' इति। . . . . . भूमौ निधानमाह गृह्यासंग्रहः। 'सव्यं. . . . . . समापयेत्'। तत्प्रकारमाह गृह्यासंग्रह(°हे?) छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम्। 'जातस्य. . . . मुपवेशयेत्'। (The first two quot. are the same as the two quot. on p. 859 of Sm.T.)
p. 536 =	1/71, 1/68-69 (G.S.)	——ज्वालनं मुखेनाह गृह्यासंग्रहः। 'वस्त्रेण. . . सिद्धिभाग्-भवेत्'। समिल्लक्षणं तत्रैव। 'नाङ्गुष्ठादधिका. . . विजानता'. . . . तथा। 'शुभं. . . . . सर्वकर्मसु'। (The 3rd quot. is partly the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 99 of T.T.)
pp. 536-7 =	1/6/13–21	——ब्रह्मोपवेशनप्रकारमाह गोभिलः। 'अग्रेणाग्निं. . . . अन्य-च्चेष्टेते'ति। (The same as the quot. on p. 94 of T.T. and p. 862 of Sm.T.)
p. 538 =	1/89*a* (G.S.) (1st half portion only of C.V.T.)	——रत्नाकरे गृह्यासंग्रहपरिशिष्टम्। 'ऊर्द्धकेशो. . . . वामा-वर्त्तस्तु विष्टरः'।
p. 542 =		——अग्निस्तरणमाह गोभिलः। 'अग्निमुपसमाधाय. . . . छादयन्नि'ति। (Almost the same as the 1st quot. on p. 868 of Sm.T.)
p. 543 =	1/5/14	——अस्मिन्नेव. . . . 'अथेध्मान्. . . . पालाशान् वे'ति गोभिले-नोक्तानाम्। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 868 of Sm.T.)
pp. 543-4 =	1/5/14	——'अथेध्मानुपकल्पयते' इत्यनेन सूत्रेणोक्तं तेषु. . . . भवेदिति विवाहोत्तरगोभिलोक्त. . . . विपदि तन्निमित्तके होमे 'लौकिके. . . पञ्चसूनापनुत्तये' इत्याद्युक्त. . . . . निवृत्ति-रित्यर्थः। (The 1st quot. is part of the quot. on p. 543 of C.V.T.)
p. 544 =	1/7/19, 1/7/21–23	——गोभिलः। 'वर्हिषि. . . . संस्कुरुते' इति। . . . . . आज्यमाह गृह्यासंग्रहे। 'अग्निना. . . . विधीयते'। . . . संस्कारविधिमाह गोभिलः। 'तत एव बर्हिषः. . . कुरुते' इति। . . . . गोभिलः। 'ओषधिम्. . . . वैष्णव्या'विति। . . . गोभिलः। 'अथैने. . . . पूते स्थः'। इति। (The 2nd, 3rd and 4th quot. = the 2nd and 3rd quot. on p. 869 of Sm.T. The 5th quot. = the 1st quot. on p. 870 of Sm.T.)

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C.V.T.	Gobh.	
pp. 544-5 =	1/7/24-25	——'संपूयोत्पुनात्युदगग्राभ्यां . . . . रश्मिभिः' इति । (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 870 of Sm.T.)
p. 545 =	1/8/1	——गोभिलः । 'अथैने . . . . व्युत्सृजेत्' इति । . . . . गोभिलः । 'अथैतद् . . . . भवती'ति । . . . . नास्तीत्याह गृह्यासंग्रहः । 'तथा . . . विधिदेशितः' । . . . . . गोभिलः । 'पूर्वमाज्यमपर(°रः?)स्थालीपाक' इति । (The 2nd quot. is the same as the 3rd quot. on p. 870 of Sm.T. and the 4th quot. is identical with the quot. on p. 871 of Sm.T.)
p. 547 =	1/3/1–5	——गोभिलः । 'अग्नि . . . . होमीय'मिति । (= 1st quot. on p. 873 of Sm.T.)
p. 548 =	1/110*b*–112*a* (G.S.)	——चरुहोमे विशेषमाह गोभिलः । 'पर्य्युक्ष्य . . . वोपक्रमतः' इति । . . . . उपघातहोमलक्षणञ्च गृह्यासंग्रहे । 'पाणिना . . . . उपघातः स उच्यते । . . . . न सृष्टिकृत्' । (Diff. readings in G.S.) (The 2nd quot. is the same as the quot. on p. 156 of Vr.T.)
p. 549 =	1/8, 9*b*, 16*a* (G.S.)	——गृह्यासंग्रहे गोभिलपुत्रः । 'प्रायश्चित्ते . . . विहितोऽनलः'। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 155 of Vr.T. and on p. 378 of S.T. and part of the 1st quot. on p. 99 of T.T.)
pp. 549-50 =	1/9/27-28	——गोभिलः । 'आज्याहुति . . . . गोदाने' इति । (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 876 of Sm.T.)
p. 550 =	1/8/3-4	——गोभिलः । 'यद्युवा . . . . जुह्वा जुहोती'ति । (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 876 of Sm.T.)
pp. 551-2 =	1/8/11–19	——यथा गोभिलः । 'अथ स्विष्टिकृत . . . . हरेदिति' । (The same as the quot. on p. 877 of Sm.T.)
p. 558 =	1/8/26–29	——तथा च गोभिलः । 'समिधमादाय . . . . चक्षत' इति । (The same as the quot. on p. 879 of Sm.T.) . . . . . एदनन्तरं . . . प्रायश्चित्तं गोभिलेनोक्तमपि तत्परिशिष्टोक्तं कुर्य्यात् । तद् यथा 'यत्र व्याहृतिभिर्होमः . . . . प्रायश्चित्तविधिः स्मृतः' । . . . . तथा च गोभिलः । 'समस्ताभिश्चतुर्थीमिति' ।
p. 559 =		——तथा च गोभिलः । 'आज्याहुति . . . . कर्तव्य'मिति । . . . . ततश्च पूर्णाहुत्यां 'मृडो नामे'ति गोभिलपुत्रकृतछन्दोगपरिशिष्टात् ।

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C.V.T. Gobh.

p. 560 = 1/9/29, 1/9/8-9 —तथा च गोभिलः। 'अपवृत्ते....शान्त्यर्थं'मिति।.. ..न च 'ब्रह्मैवैकऋत्विक् पाकयज्ञे सं(स्वयं?)होते'ति गोभिलसूत्रात्....वाच्यम्।

(The 1st quot. is the same as the quot. on p. 880 of Sm.T. and the 2nd quot. as the 1st quot. on p. 375 of S.T.)

p. 561 = 1/1/6 —गोभिलेनापि परिभाषायामुक्तम् 'अपवर्गे....यथाशक्ती'ति।.....अभिरूपमाह गृह्यासंग्रहकारः। 'यत्र विद्या....यद्यवस्थितः'।

16. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. Gobh. (G.S.)

pp. 616-7 = 1/62*b*–64*a* —गोभिलपुत्रकृतगृह्यासंग्रहपरिशिष्टे। 'द्यूते....समारभेत्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 533 of C.V.T.)

p. 620 = 1/68-69, 1/8*b*, 9*b*, 16*a* —तथा च गृह्यासंग्रहः। 'शुभं....सर्वकर्मसु'।...अत्र च....गृह्यासंग्रहः। 'प्रायश्चित्ते....विहितोऽनलः'।

(The 1st quot. is the same as the quot. on p. 154 of Vr.T. and as the 3rd quot. on p. 536 of C.V.T. and the 2nd quot. is identical with the quot. on p. 155 of Vr.T. and part of the quot. on p. 549 of C.V.T.)

p. 622 = 1/110*b*–112*a* —उपघात...गृह्यासंग्रहे। 'पाणिना...स्विष्टिकृत्'।

(The same as the quot. on p. 156 of Vr.T. and as the 2nd quot. on p. 548 of C.V.T.)

p. 631 = —गोभिलः। 'वृद्धि....यवैस्तिलार्थ' इति।

(The same as the quot. on p. 518 of J.L.T.)

III. The Smṛtis

(*a*) *Manusmṛti*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Manu

pp. 23-4 = II. 145*b* —एवञ्च 'सहस्रन्तु.....रिच्यते' इति मनुवचने।

p. 24 = IX. 4*b* —अतएव मनुः। 'मृते भर्तरि....मातुररक्षिता'।

,, = II. 172 —अनुपनीतस्यापि.....मनुः। 'नाभिव्याहारयेद् ब्रह्म.....न जायते'।

p. 27 = IX. 223*a* —यथा मनुः। 'अप्राणिभिर्यत्.....द्यूतमुच्यते'।

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T.T.	Manu	
p. 30 =	IV. 62	—'न भुञ्जीतो.....नातिसायम्' इति मनूक्त...।
p. 38 =	IV. 129	—'न स्नानमाचरेद्भुक्त्वा.....जलाशये' इति मनुवच(ने)-नैकदाजस्रस्ननिषेधाच्च।
,, =		—'धर्मविन्नाचरेत्.....पुनःपुनः' इति मनुवचनाच्च।
p. 91 =	V. 35	—ततस्तु 'नियुक्तस्तु...नेकविंशतिम्' इति मनुवचनं....विषयम्।
p. 109 =		—शक्तौ च मनुः.....'प्रभुः....फलम्'।
p. 117 =	III. 263	—मनुः। 'यत्किञ्चित्.....मघासु च'।....मनुवचने यत्किञ्चिदिति श्रुतेश्च।
p. 118 =	,,	—एवं मनुवचने 'यत्किञ्चिन्मधुना मिश्र'मित्यनेन मधुमात्रयुक्तत्वमुक्तम्। (Part of the quot. just above.)
p. 159 =		—'त्र्यहं न....सूतके' इति मनुवचने सामान्यतो निषेधात्।
,, =	IV. 103	—मनुनोल्कायां तथा विधानात् यथा। 'विद्युत्...मनुरब्रवीत्'।
,, =	II. 105	—अङ्गादिषु प्रतिप्रसवमाह मनुः। 'वेदोपकरणे...चैव हि'।
p. 160 =	IV. 106	—'प्रादुष्कृते....इत्याह भगवान् मनुः' इति मनुवचनं वर्षाविषयम्। (A slightly diff. reading in Manu.)
p. 161 =	IV. 129	—'न स्नानमाचरेद्भुक्त्वा' इत्यादि मनुवचनम्।
p. 162 =	IV. 37	—न च 'नेक्षेतोदन्त....गतम्' इति मनुवचनेन वैधदर्शननिषेधोऽस्तु।
p. 167 =		—तथा च मनुः। 'पिण्डानां....विदुर्बुधाः'।
,, =		—यत्तु 'पितृयज्ञन्तु....मासानुमासिकम् इति मनुवचनम्।
pp. 172-3 =	III. 270	—'रात्रौ ..... चिरोदिते' इति मनुवचनाभ्याम् (°वचनात्?)।
p. 173 =	III. 266	—तथा च मनुः। 'कृष्णपक्षे.....तथेतराः'।
p. 174 =	III. 272*b*	—'न दर्शेन....द्विजन्मनः' इति मनुना...विधानात्।
p. 177 =	III. 206 (1st verse only)	—'न्युप्य पिण्डांस्तत....साप्तपौरुषम्' इति यथास्थानमनुवचनाभ्यां सहैकवाक्यत्वात् इति।
p. 178 =	II. 60*a*	—'त्रिराचामेदपः.....ततो मुखम्' इति मनुवचने।
p. 182 =	V. 10*a*	—मनुः। 'दधिभक्ष्यञ्च.....दधिसम्भवम्'।

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T.T. Manu

p. 183 = III. 248*b* (with K.B.) —'दक्षिणां . . . . . पितॄन्' इति मनुवचनस्य च ।

,, = III. 248*b* and III. 249*a* —मनुना च 'आकाङ्क्ष' न्नित्यनन्तरं 'दातारो . . . अभ्युदीरयन्' इत्येव पठितम् ।

p. 185 = III. 269 —तथा च मनुः । 'प्राचीनावीतिना . . . . दर्भपाणिना' ।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Manu

p. 189 = —तथा च मनुः । 'पितृयज्ञन्तु . . . . . मासानुमासिकम्' । (The same as the second quot. on p. 167 of T.T.)

p. 191 = III. 266 —चतुर्दशीवर्जनमाह मनुः । 'कृष्णपक्षे . . . तथेतराः' इति । (The same as the quot. on p. 173 of T.T.)

,, = III. 272*b* —तथा च मनुः । 'न दर्शेन . . . . . द्विजन्मनः' इति । (The same as the quot. on p. 174 of T.T.)

p. 197 = III. 196 —'शुचि . . . . . प्रयत्नेनोपपादयेत्' इति मनूक्त . . . . । (Manu reads दक्षिणाप्रवणं for दक्षिणाप्लवनं.)

p. 224 = III. 257 —मनुः । 'तिलै . . . . . नृणाम्' ।

p. 225 = —'यक्ष . . . . . हविः' इति मनुवचनेन ।

,, = III. 247 (with K.B.) —'मुन्यन्नानि . . . . . हविरुच्यते' इति मनुवचनविरोधात् ।

pp. 225-6 = ,, —अतएव मनुनैव श्राद्धप्रकरणे 'मुन्यन्नानि . . . हविरुच्यते' इति । (The same as the above.)

p. 229 = III. 214 —मनुः । 'पाणिभ्यां . . . . . उपनिक्षिपेत्' ।

pp. 229-30 = III. 216–8 —मनुः । 'गुणांश्च . . . . प्रचोदयन्' । (Manu omits the 6th of the above 7 lines and reads a portion a slight differently.)

p. 231 = III. 269 —'प्राचीनावीतिना . . . . दर्भपाणिना' इति मनूक्तेः । (The same as the quot. on p. 185 of T.T.)

p. 241 = III. 207 (with K.B.) —न च 'आचम्योदक् . . . मन्त्रवत्' इति मनुवचनं प्रमाणम् ।

p. 244 = III. 248*b* —न च . . . 'दक्षिणां . . . . . पितॄन्' इत्यादि मनुवचनैकवाक्यत्वं तत्र प्रमाणमिति वाच्यम् । (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 183 of T.T.)

,, = III. 248*b* (with K.B.) —'दक्षिणां दिशमाकाङ्क्षन्' इति मनुवचनस्य तथार्थत्वे प्रमाणाभावाच्च (Part of the first quot. on p. 183 of T.T.).

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Sr.T.	Manu	
p. 244 =	III. 248*b* and III. 249*a*	——मनुना 'आकाङ्क्षन्' इत्यनन्तरं 'दातार' इति पठितम्। (The same as the second quot. on p. 183 of T.T.)
p. 248 =		——'दीपनिर्वापकोऽन्धः स्यात्' इति मनुवचनाच्च।
p. 252 =	III. 266	——तत्र चतुर्दशीवर्जनमाह मनुः। 'कृष्णपक्षे....तथेतराः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 173 of T.T. and the first quot. on p. 191 of Sr.T.)
„ =	III. 272*b*	——'न दर्शेन.....द्विजन्मनः' इति मनुवचनात्। (The same as the quot. on p. 174 of T.T. and the second quot. on p. 191 of Sr.T.)
p. 264 =	III. 272*a*	——'न पैत्रयज्ञियो.....विधीयते' इति मनुवचने निषेधात्।
p. 266 =	III. 270	——'रात्रौ.....चैवाचिरोदिते' इति मनूक्त-पर्य्युदस्त-कालापेक्षया। (The same as the quot. on pp. 172-3 of T.T.)
p. 268 =		——तथा च मनुः। 'पिण्डानां.....विदुर्बुधाः'। (The same as the 1st quotation on p. 167 of T.T.)
p. 278 =	V. 98	——जलादिस्पर्शमाह मनुः। 'विप्रः.....कृतक्रियः'।
p. 300 =	IX. 183	——अथ 'सर्वासामेकपत्नीनामेका.....पुत्रवतीर्मनुः' इति मनुवचने।

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T.	Manu	
p. 328 =	IV. 51	——मनुः। 'मूत्रोच्चार.....यथा दिवा'।
p. 329 =	IV. 52	——मनुः। 'छायायामन्धकारे....भयेषु च'।
„ =	IV. 45*b*–48*b*	——मनुः। 'न मूत्रं.....विसर्जनम्'।
p. 339 =	V. 134	——मनुदक्षौ। 'एका लिङ्गे....अभीप्सता'।
p. 334 =	II. 58*b*	——ब्राह्मचावरोधे मनुः। 'काय....कदाचन'।
p. 335 =	II. 62	——मनुः। 'हृद्गाभिः.....स्पृष्टाभिरन्ततः'।
p. 349 =		——मनु-व्यास-वृहस्पतयः। 'वृद्धौ....प्रतिग्रहः'।
„ =		——मनुः। 'अशीतिभागं....भवत्यर्थकिल्विषी'।
p. 353 =	X. 129	——मनुः। 'शक्तेनापीह.....वाधते'।
„ =	X. 92 and X. 94*b* (2nd foot)	——मनुः। 'सद्यः पतति....तत्समाः'। (Manu reads the remaining one line and a half of the 2nd verse differently.)

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A.T.	Manu	
p. 353 =	X. 104	——मनुः । 'जीवितात्यय . . . . . लिप्यते' ।
,, =	X. 101*b*, 102*a*, 103 (with K.B.)	——अत्यन्तापदि मनुः । 'अवृत्तिकर्षितः . . . . समा हि ते' ।
pp. 353-4 =	X. 99, 100, 116	——'अशक्नुवंस्तु . . . . . जीवनहेतवः' ।
p. 361 =	IV. 83*b*	——'शिरःस्नातस्तु . . . . . किञ्चिदुपस्पृशेत्' इति मनुवचनमेतत्परम् ।
p. 365 =	IV. 129	——मनुः । 'न स्नानमाचरेद्भुक्त्वा . . . . जलाशये' । (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 38 of T.T.)
p. 366 =	IV. 201	——अतएव मनुनापि निपानकर्तुरित्यभिहितम् . . . . यथा । 'परकीयनिपानेषु . . . . निपानकर्तुः स्नात्वा . . . लिप्यते' ।
p. 368 =	III. 273	——तदाह मनुः । 'यदेव तर्पयत्यद्भिः . . . . पितृयज्ञक्रियाफलम्' ।
p. 369 =	IV. 201*b*	——अतएव मनुना 'स्नात्वा' इत्यविशेषादुक्तम् ।
p. 422 =		——मनुः । 'अन्नं व्याहृतिभि . . . . . अग्निमान्' ।
p. 424 =	III. 82	——'शुनाञ्च . . . . . भुवि' इति मनुवचनैकवाक्यत्वात् । (Manu reads differently.)
p. 431 =	II. 52	——मनुः । 'आयुष्यं . . . . ह्युदङ्मुखः' ।
p. 432 =	IV. 62*b*	——मनुः । 'नातिप्रगे . . . . प्रातराशितः' ।
p. 433 =	II. 54	——मनुः । 'पूजयेदशनं . . . . वन्दयेत्' । (Manu omits the 2nd verse and reads the first one a bit differently.)
p. 434 =	IV. 58	——मनुः । 'स्वाध्याय . . . . पाणिमुद्धरेत्' ।
p. 436 =	V. 4*b*	——प्रागुक्त . . . . दोषमाह मनुः । 'आलस्यादन्न . . . . जिघांसति' ।
,, =	IV. 35	——अतएव मनुनैवोक्तम् । 'स्वाध्याये . . . . आत्महितेषु च' । इति ।
pp. 448-9 =	V. 4*b*, V. 5, V. 7, V. 8–10	——'आलस्यादन्नदोषा'दित्यनन्तरं मनुरप्याह । 'लशुनं . . . . . प्रभवाणि च' । . . . . 'वृथा . . . . हवींषि च' । . . . . . 'अनिर्दशाया . . . . . शुभैः' ।
p. 449 =	V. 15*b*, 16, 26*b*–28*b*, 32*a*–33*a*, 35 and V. 36*a*	——मनुः । 'मत्स्यादः . . . . . एकविंशतिम्' । . . . . तथा च तत्रैवोक्तम् । 'मन्त्रैस्तु . . . स्थितः' । इति ।

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A.T.	Manu	
p. 450	= V. 35*a*	—अतएव 'नियुक्तस्त्वि'ति मनुवचनं.... ।
„	= V. 53	—मनुः । 'वर्षे वर्षे.....पुण्यफलं समम्' ।
pp. 451-2	= IV. 207–9, 211*b*, 210*a*, 212*a*–214*a*, 217-18, 220*b*, 222-3	—मनुः । 'मत्तक्रुद्धातुराणाञ्च.....वेकरात्रिकम्' ।
p. 452	= V. 24, V. 25	—भक्ष्यमाह मनुः । 'यत्किञ्चित्....यद्भूवेत्' । विशेषमाह स एव । 'चिरसंस्थितमप्याद्यं...विक्रिया' । (Manu reads the 1st line of the 2nd quot. differently.)
p. 454	= V. 125 (with K.B.)	—मनुः । 'त्रीणि.....प्रशस्यते' ।
p. 455	=	—मनुः । 'द्रव्याणाञ्चैव.....स्मृतम्' ।
p. 461	= V. 65*b*	—'रजस्युपरते....रजस्वला' इति मनुवचनैकवाक्यत्वात् ।

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T.	Manu	
p. 469	= V. 143	—मन्वत्र्यङ्गिरोवृहस्पतय आहुः । यथा 'सुप्त्वा....प्रयतोऽपि सन्' ।
p. 472	= XI. 185	—'प्रायश्चित्ते.....पुण्यजलाशये' इति मनूक्तेः ।
pp. 472-3	= XI. 194-5	—यथा मनुः । 'उपवासकृशं.....परिग्रहम्' ।
p. 473	= XI. 52	—'चरितव्यमतो....निष्कृतैनसः' इति मनुवचने.... ।
p. 474	= VIII. 373*a*	—'संवत्सराभिशप्तस्य...दमः' इति मनुवचने.... ।
p. 479	= XI. 207*a*	—तथा हि मनुः । 'अवगूर्य्य.....निपातने' ।
p. 480	= XII. 9	—मनुः । 'शरीरजैः....जातिताम्' ।
p. 481	= XI. 210	—अयमेव मनुना....परिभाषितो यथा । 'त्र्यहं..... प्राजापत्यं चरन् द्विजः' ।
„	= XI. 212	—अतिकृच्छ्रमाह मनुः । 'एकैकं...मतिकृच्छ्रं चरन् द्विजः' ।
p. 483	= XI. 226, XI. 70*b*	—यथा मनुः । 'ख्यापनेनानुतापेन....चापदि' । ... 'यैर्यैर्व्रतैरपोहेते' त्युक्त्वा मरणादीनामपि मनुनोक्तत्वात् ।
„	= XI. 138	—हिंसात्मके....प्रतिनिधित्वमाह मनुः । 'दानेन.... पापापनुत्तये' ।
p. 487	= XI. 232	—'यस्मिन्.....भवेत्' इति मनुवचनाच्च ।

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P.T.	Manu	
pp. 507-8 =	IV. 152 (with K.B.)	—'मैत्रं.....पूजनम्' इति मनुवचनाच्च।
p. 510 =	X. 41*b*	—एवञ्च 'शूद्राणाञ्च सधर्माणः.....स्मृताः' इति मनूक्तेः।
p. 511 =	XII. 106	—मनुरपि। 'आर्षं.....नेतरः'।
pp. 513-4 =	VIII. 320*a*	—'धान्यं....वधः' इति मनूक्तादिदण्डम्।
p. 515 =	VIII. 222	—यथा मनुः। 'क्रीत्वा....वाददीत वा'।
p. 518 =	VIII. 137*b*	—तत्रापि 'चतुःसौवर्णिको निष्कः' इति मनूक्तनिष्कस्य न ग्रहणम्।
,, =	VIII. 134*b*	—तथा च मनुः। 'पञ्चकृष्णलको माषस्ते सुवर्णस्तु षोडश' इति।
p. 519 =	VIII. 325	—तत्र मनुना 'गोषु ब्राह्मणसंस्थासु' इत्यनेन...अभिहितम्।
,, =	XI. 107–115	—तदाह मनुः। 'उपपातकसंयुक्तो...निवेदयेत्'।
p. 530 =	VIII. 242	—तथा च मनुः। 'अनिर्दशाहां....मनुरब्रवीत्'।
,, =	VIII. 230 (with K.B.)	—पालकान्तरसत्त्वे तु मनुः। 'दिवा....पक्तव्यतामियात्'।
,, =	VIII. 293 (with K.B.)	—एवञ्च 'यत्रापवर्तते युग्यं....दमः' इति मनुवचने।
p. 533 =	III. 60-61, III. 58	—तदुक्तं मनुना। 'अध्यापनं....सूनादोषैर्न लिप्यते'। सूनादोषैः 'पञ्चसूना...वाहयन्' इति स्वोक्तैः।
p. 535 =	IX. 284*a*	—अतएव मनुः। 'चिकित्सायाञ्च....दमः'। (Manu reads चिकित्सकानां°.)
p. 538 =	XI. 61*b*	—'अपण्यानाञ्च विक्रय' इति मनुनोपपातकगणने पठितम्।
,, =	XI. 64*a*	—'अनाहिता.....नपक्रिया' इत्यनेन मनुना उपपातकगणने।
pp. 540-1 =	X. 11-12, X. 19*a* and 9	—चाण्डालाद्युत्पत्तिमाह मनुः। 'क्षत्रियाद्....वर्णश(स?)ङ्कराः'। तथा। 'क्षत्तु....प्रजायते'। (Manu reads the second quot. differently.)
p. 541 =	XI. 210	—'त्र्यहं....प्राजापत्यं चरन् द्विजः' इति मनुवचनात्। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 481 of P.T.)
p. 542 =	IV. 218*a*, IV. 222	—अन्यत्र मनुना प्रायश्चित्ताधिक्यमुक्तम्। तद् यथा। 'राजान्नं....ब्रह्मवर्चसम्' इत्यभिधाय 'भुक्त्वा.... विण्मूत्रमेव च'।

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P.T. Manu

p. 542 = XI. 123 —सान्तपने....विधानात्। यथा मनुः। 'जाति.... अनिच्छया'।

" = IV. 222 —यथा...मनुः। 'भुक्त्वा.....विण्मूत्रमेव च'। (The same as the 2nd quot. of the 1st group on this page of P.T. above.)

p. 543 = XI. 174 —मनुः। 'चण्डालान्त्यस्त्रियो....साम्यन्तु गच्छति'।

pp. 543-4 = XI. 63*b* —'निन्दितान्नादनं तथा' इत्यनेन उपपातकगणे मनुना निर्दिष्टत्वात्।

p. 544 = XI. 169 —यथा मनुः। 'गुरुतल्पव्रतं....ष्वन्त्यजासु च'।

p. 546 = XI. 214 —पराकमाह मनुः। 'यतात्मनो....सर्वपापापनोदनः'।

pp. 547-8 = IV. 216 and 222*a* —यत्तु मनुवचनम्। 'श्ववतां....क्षपणं त्र्यहम्' इति।

p. 548 = XI. 159 —तथा चोत्तारादपि...मनुः। 'अभोज्य...शोधनैः'।

p. 556 = XI. 150 —उपनयने विशेषयति मनुः। 'वपनं....संस्कारकर्मणि'।

5. Jyotistattva

J.T. Manu

p. 611 = III. 10 —मनुः। 'अव्यङ्गाङ्गीं.....स्त्रियम्'।

" = III. 8-9 —तथा मनुः। 'नोद्वहेत्....भीषणनामिकाम्'।

pp. 617-8 = III. 48*a*-49*a* —फलञ्च 'युग्मासु....स्त्रियाः' इति मनूक्तम्।

p. 648 = II. 29 —मनुः। 'प्राङ्नाभिवर्धनात्...हिरण्यमधुसर्पिषाम्'।

p. 651 = II. 33 —मनुः। 'स्त्रीणां.....धानवत्'।

p. 653 = II. 35 —मनुः। 'चूडाकर्म.....स्मृतिचोदनात्'।.....तथा च 'चूडाकार्य्ये....इत्यवगम्यते'। (The 2nd verse not found in Manu.)

p. 656 = IV. 122*b* —नाधीयीतेत्यनुवृत्तौ मनुः। 'रुधिरे...परीक्षते'।

p. 677 = XI. 236 —मनुः। 'औषधान्यगदो....साधनम्'।

pp. 716-7 = VII. 46–8 —व्यसनान्याह मनुः। 'कामजेषु...गणोऽष्टकः'।

6. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Manu

p. 739 = VIII. 210 —तत्र विभागं मनुरप्याह। 'सर्वेषामर्धिनो...श्चैकपादिनः'।

p. 742 = VII. 182-3, VII. 46–8 —यथा मनुः। 'मार्गशीर्षे....रिपोः'। व्यसनान्याह स एव। 'कामजेषु....गणोऽष्टकः'। (The second group of quotations is the same as that quoted on pp. 716-7 of J.T.)

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M.T.	Manu	
pp. 742-3 =	VII. 197*b*–200*b*	—मनुरपि । 'युक्ते.....रिपून् यथा' । (Manu reads differently.)
p. 743 =	VII. 210	—कण्टरिपुमाह स एव । 'प्राज्ञं....वुधाः' ।
p. 747 =	III. 45*a*	—यथा मनुः । 'ऋतुकालाभिगामी स्यात्' ।
p. 756 =		—(अर्थशास्त्रस्य मन्वादिप्रणीतराजनीत्यादिविषयस्य) यदाह। 'अनागमन्तु....त्रिपुरुषागतम्'।...'अनागमन्तु.... पृथिवीपतिः' ।
p. 791 =		—(स्वस्तीति.....मन्वादिविरोधात् ।) 'यत् सुखं... स्वस्तीत्यभिसंज्ञिता' ।
,, =		—यथा मनुः । 'यदि विप्रः.....प्रमुच्यते' ।
p. 793 =	X. 127, (with K.B.), VIII. 272, X. 129	—अतएव...मनुः । 'धर्मेप्सवस्तु...प्राप्नुवन्ति च'। .....तथा । 'धर्मोपदेशं.....पार्थिवः' । तथा। 'शक्तेनापि हि....वाधते' । (The last quot. is the same as the 1st quot. on p. 353 of A.T.)
p. 795 =	II. 172	—अनुपनीतस्य....मनुः । 'नाभिव्याहारयेद् ब्रह्म.... न जायते' । (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 24 of T.T.)
pp. 799-800 =	III. 263 (with K.B.)	—मनुनापि । 'यत्किञ्चिन्मधुनामिश्रं....मघासु च'। इत्यत्र यत्किञ्चिदित्युक्तम् । (The same as the quot. on p. 117 of T.T.)
p. 802 =	III. 237*b*	—'अदैवं भोजयेत्....निर्वपेत्' इति मनुवचने ।
,, =	III. 238	—न च 'सहपिण्डक्रियायान्तु....पिण्डनिर्वपणं सुतैः' इति मनुवचने....वाच्यम् ।
p. 809 =	XI. 202	—'वेदोदितानां...प्रायश्चित्तमभोजनम्' इति मनूक्तेन ।
p. 833 =	IV. 105	—अतएव मनुनापि । 'निर्घाते....अनध्यायानृतावपि'। ....मृतावपीत्युक्तम् ।
p. 834 =	IV. 103*a*	—यथा मनुः । 'विद्युत्.....संप्लवे' इति वस्त्वर्थः। (Part of the 2nd quot. on p. 159 of T.T.)
p. 835 =	XI. 236	—मनुः । 'औषधान्यगदो.....साधनम्' । (The same as the quot. on p. 677 of J.T.)
p. 836 =	XII. 89-90	—मनुः । 'इह चामुत्र.....पञ्च वै' ।
p. 845 =	III. 266	—'कृष्णपक्षे....तथेतरः' इति मनूक्त....निषेधोऽपि नात्र सम्बध्यते । (The same as the quot. on p. 173 of T.T. and as the 1st quotation on p. 191 of Sr.T.)

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M.T. Manu
p. 854 = VI. 38*b* —एवञ्च 'आत्मन्यग्नीन्....गृहात्' इति मनुवचनस्य ।

7. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Manu
p. 885 = —'गर्भवार्द्धुषि कृत्ये च नधिमासं विदुर्बुधाः' इति मनुवचनात् ।

p. 886 = III. 27 —तत्र दानात् पूर्वमर्हणमाह मनुः । 'आच्छाद्य...ब्राह्मो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः' ।

p. 892 = III. 27 —'आच्छाद्य.....ब्राह्मो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः' ।
(The same as the above)

p. 893 = VIII. 227 —एवं 'पाणिग्रहणिका.....सप्तमे पदे' इति मनुवचनं .....अतएव 'निष्ठे'त्युक्तम् ।

" = III. 31 (with K.B.) —मनुः । 'ज्ञातिभ्यो.....धर्म उच्यते' इति ।

p. 894 = IV. 235 (with K.B.) —सम्प्रदानार्चनमाह मनुः । 'योऽर्चितं....विपर्य्यये' ।

p. 902 = II. 123, 124-5 (with K.B.) —तथा च मनुः । 'अभिवादात् परं...पूर्वाक्षरः प्लुतः' ।

p. 922 = II. 35 —यथा मनुः । 'चूडाकर्म....श्रुतिदर्शनात्' इति ।
(Manu reads °श्रुतिनोदनात्)
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 653 of J.T.)

p. 926 = II. 66*a* —'अमन्त्रिका तु....स्त्रीणामावृदशेषतः' इति मनुवचनात् ।

p. 927 = XI. 190 —पितृमातृरहितस्य...विषये तु मनुविष्णू । 'येषां द्विजानां .....यथाविध्युपनाययेत्' ।

p. 930 = II. 42-3 —तथा च मनुः । 'मौञ्जी.....पञ्चभिरेव वा' ।

" = II. 45 —मनुः । 'ब्राह्मणो.....धर्मतः' ।

" = II. 46-7 —मनुः । 'केशान्तिको.....नाग्निदूषिताः' ।

p. 934 = II. 44*a* —'कार्पासमुत्तरीयं.....त्रिवृदि'ति मनूक्तेः ।

" = II. 64 —'मेखलामजिनं.....मन्त्रवत्' इति मनुवचनेन ।

p. 935 = II. 48 —'प्रतिगृह्योप्सितं.....यथाविधि' इति मनुवचनात् ।

p. 936 = II. 50 —तथा च मनुः । 'मातरं वा....नावमानयेत्' ।

" = II. 49 —तथा च मनुः । 'भवत्पूर्वं....भवदुत्तरम्' ।

" = II. 51 —तथा च मनुः । 'समाहृत्याथ....प्राङ्मुखः शुचिः' ।

" = II. 186 —तथा च मनुः । 'दूरादाहृत्य...आहिताग्निरतन्द्रितः' ।
(Manu reads °ताभिरग्निमतन्द्रितः)

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M.T. Manu

p. 940 = III. 4 —'गुरुणानुमतः.....लक्षणान्विताम्' इति ।

8. Ekādaśitattva

E.T. Manu

p. 7 = II. 3 (with K.B.) —अतएव....सम्भवत्वमाह मनुः । 'सङ्कल्पमूलः.... सङ्कल्पजाः स्मृताः' ।

p. 13 = VIII. 112 (with K.B.) —शपथेऽपि मनुः । 'कामिनीषु.....पातकम्' ।

p. 25 = X. 92*b* —अन्त्यजन्मगत 'स्त्र्यहेण शूद्रीभवति ब्राह्मणः क्षीरविक्रयी' इति मन्वाद्युक्तः ।

p. 31 = II. 37*a* —मनुः । 'ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य....पञ्चमे' इति ।

p. 35 = III. 272*a* —'न पैत्रयज्ञियो....विधीयते' इति मनुना निषेधात् । (The same as the quot. on p. 264 of Sr.T.)

p. 36 = V. 153 —सभर्त्तृकायास्तु....निषिद्धो मनुना यथा । 'नास्ति स्त्रीणां .....स्वर्गे महीयते' ।

,, = VI. 3*b* —'पुत्रेषु भार्य्यां....सहैव वा' इति मनुवचनाच्च ।

p. 59 = VIII. 134*b*-135*a* —अत्र 'पञ्चकृष्णलको....सुवर्णाश्चत्वारः' इति मनूक्तम् । (Partly the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 518 of P.T.)

p. 67 = —'देवतार्थन्तु.....मनुरब्रवीत्' इति वचनात् ।

p. 87 = XI. 28-9 —मनुः । 'विश्वैश्च....विद्यते फलम्' ।

p. 94 = III. 58*a* —मनुनापि पञ्चसूनाविवरणे 'चुल्ली'त्युक्तम् ।

9. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Manu

p. 106 = III. 5 —मनुशातातपौ । 'असपिण्डा....मैथुने' ।

,, = III. 27 —एवञ्च 'आच्छाद्य.....ब्राह्मो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः' इति मन्वादिवचने । (The same as the quot. on pp. 886 and 892 of Sm.T.)

pp. 106-7 = VIII. 227 —यत्तु 'पाणिग्रहणिका...सप्तमे पदे' इति मनुवचनं.... अतएव 'निष्ठे'त्युक्तम् । (The same as the 1st quot on p. 893 of Sm.T.)

p. 107 = III. 43-4 —'पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारः....शूद्रयोत्कृष्टवेदने' इति मनु वचनान्तरेऽपि ।

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U.T. Manu	
p. 111 = V. 138	—'शूद्राणां मासिकं . . . . . द्विजोच्छिष्टस्य भोजनम्' इति मनुवचने ।
p. 114 = IX. 142	—'गोत्रऋक्थे . . . . ददतः स्वधा' इति मनूक्तेः । (Manu क्वचित् for सुतः in the 1st line.)
p. 121 = VIII. 102 .	—शूद्रतुल्यानाह मनुः । 'गोरक्षकान् . . . . शूद्रवदाचरेत्' ।
p. 124 = IX. 89 and IX. 88	—यत्तु मनुवचनम् । 'काम . . . . गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित्' । इति मनूक्त . . . . विषयम् । अतएव गुणवते . . . . . देयेत्याह मनुः । 'उत्कृष्टायाभिरूपाय . . . . दद्याद् यथाविधि' ।
p. 128 = III. 37*a*	—'दश पूर्वान् . . . . ञ्चैकविंशति' मिति मनुवचनसमानार्थकम् ।
pp. 128-9 = III. 33*b*	—'प्रसह्य कन्याहरणं राक्षसो विधिरिष्यते' इति मनुवचनात् । (Manu reads °विधिरुच्यते.)
p. 129 = III. 34	—छलमाह मनुः । 'सुप्तां . . . कथितोऽष्टमः' ।
„ = IX. 67–70 (with K.B.)	—घृताभ्यक्त . . . मनुः । 'यस्या म्रियेत . . . सकृदृतावृतौ' ।
p. 129 = IX. 97	—'कन्यायां . . . कन्यानुमन्यते' प्राग्वचनं मनोरपि ।
p. 130 = VIII. 227	—मनुः । 'मङ्गलार्थं . . . . सप्तमे पदे' । (Manu omits the 1st verse and the 2nd verse is the same as the 1st quot. on p. 893 of Sm.T. and as the quot. on pp. 106-7 of U.T.)
p. 138 = III. 35	—मनुः । 'अद्भिरेव . . . . काम्यया' ।
p. 139 = IV. 234	—मनुः । 'येन येन . . . . प्रतिपूजितः' ।
p. 140 = IX. 98*a*	—अतएव मनुः । 'आददीत . . . . ददत्' ।
„ = III. 34	—यत्तु 'चतुरो . . . . . वैश्यशूद्रयोः' इति मनुना . . . विषयम् ।
p. 145 = IX. 47	—'सकृदंशो . . . . सकृत्' इति मनुवचनात् ।
p. 147 = IX. 11, IX. 13	—मनुः । 'अर्थस्य . . . . पारिणाय्यस्य रक्षणे' । . . . . . 'पानं . . . . दूषणानि षट्' ।
p. 149 = III. 8*a*-9*a*	—'नोद्वहेत् . . . . . नान्त्यपर्वतनामिकाम्' इत्यादिना निषिद्धासु । (Part of the 2nd quot. on p. 611 of J.T.)
„ = IX. 46*a*	—मनुः । 'न निष्क्रय . . . . विमुच्यते' ।
p. 150 = IX. 54-5	—यत्तु 'ओघवाताहृतं . . . प्रसवं प्रति' इति मनुवचनं तत्र . . . परम् ।

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10. Dāyatattva

D.T.	Manu	
p. 165 =	IX. 215	—मनुः । 'भ्रातॄणामविभक्तानां . . . कथञ्चन' ।
,, =	IX. 209	—यथा मनुविष्णू । 'पैतृकन्तु . . . . स्वयमर्जितम्' ।
p. 169 =	IX. 165	—अत्रापि विशेषमाह मनुः । 'औरस . . . भागिनः' ।
,, =	IX. 162	—मनुः । 'यद्येक . . . . . नेतरः' ।
p. 170 =	IX. 105	—यथा मनुः । 'ज्येष्ठ . . . . पितरं तथा' ।
p. 171 =	IX. 207	—यथा मनुः । 'भ्रातॄणां यस्तु . . . . जीवनम्' ।
p. 178 =	VIII. 167 (with K.B.)	—मनुः । 'कुटुम्बार्थे . . . . विचालयेत्' ।
,, =	VIII. 166	—मनुः । 'ग्रहीता . . . . . स्वतः' ।
p. 180 =	VIII. 416*a*, VIII. 416*b*	—यत्तु 'भार्य्या पुत्रश्च . . . . स्मृताः' इत्यत्र . . . तद्वचनोत्तरार्धं 'यत्ते . . . . तस्य तद्धनम्' इत्यनेन ।
p. 182 =	IX. 47	—'सकृदंशो . . . . . सकृत्' इति मनु . . . वचनेऽपि । (The same as the quot. on p. 145 of U.T.)
pp. 183-4 =	Cf. VIII. 37-8 (= Yāj. II. 35-6)	—तथा च मनुः । 'राजा . . . . दण्डमेव च' ।
p. 184 =	IX. 200 (with Medh.)	—मनुविष्णू । 'पत्यौ . . . . पतन्ति ते' ।
p. 185 =	IX. 139*b*	—'दौहित्रोऽपि . . . . . पौत्रवत्' इति मनुवचने ।
p. 186 =	IX. 131*a*	—व्यक्तमाह मनुः । 'मातुश्च . . . कुमारीभाग एव स' इति ।
,, =	IX. 198	—यत्तु मनुवचनं 'स्त्रियांस्तु (°यान्तु?) . . . वा भवेत्' इति ।
,, =		—तदभावे पुत्राधिकारः 'दुहितॄणामभावे तु . . . तद्भवेत्' इति मनुवचनात् ।
,, =	IX. 196-7	—यथा मनुः । 'ब्राह्म . . . . स्तदिष्यते' ।
p. 187 =	IX. 183	—'सर्वासामेकपत्नीनामेका . . . पुत्रवतीर्मनुः' इति मनुस्मृतेः । (The same as the quot. on p. 300 of Sr.T.)
,, =	IX. 186	—अत्र 'त्रयाणामुदकं . . . . नोपपद्यते' इति दायभागप्रकरणीय-मनुस्मृतेः ।
p. 191 =	IX. 85	—ज्येष्ठत्वमाह मनुः । 'यदि स्वाश्च . . . . वेश्म च' ।
,, =	IX. 133 (with Gov.)	—'पौत्रदौहित्रयोर्लोके . . . . देहतः' इति मनुवचने ।
p. 192 =	IX. 211	—व्यक्तमाह मनुः । 'येषां . . . . न लुप्यते' ।
pp. 192-3 =	IX. 212	—केषाम् . . . . स एव । 'सोदर्य्या . . . सनाभयः' ।

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D.T. Manu

p. 193 = IX. 156-7 (with K.B.) ——तथा च मनुः । 'समवर्णासु.....पुत्रशतं भवेत्' ।

" = IX. 112 ——तथा हि 'ज्येष्ठस्य विंश....यवीयसः' इति मनुना.... उद्धाराभिधानात् ।

" = ——द्विजन्मनामपि उद्धारनिरासाय समांशता मनुना विहिता 'समानं समवर्णास्वि'ति वचनमभिधाय 'द्विप्रकारो.... समांशकल्पना' इति ।

p. 195 = IX. 186*a*-187*a* (with K.B.) ——तत्र 'त्रयाणामुदकं....नोपपद्यते ।....हरेत्' इति मनूक्तात् । (Manu reads भवेत् for हरेत्.) (Partly the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 187 of D.T.)

11. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. Manu

p. 198 = VIII. 20 ——मनुः । 'जातिमात्रोपजीवी....कदाचन । नाध्यापयति .....स्मृतः' । (Manu omits the third line and reads कथञ्चन for कदाचन.)

p. 199 = VIII. 11 and XII. 111 ——तथाविधा....सभात्वमाह मनुः । 'यस्मिन् देशे..... सभां विदुः' । विद्वत्....परिषच्छब्दमाह स एव । 'त्रैविद्यो.....परिषत् स्याद्दशावराः' ।

p. 200 = VIII. 23 ——मनुः । 'धर्मासन....आरभेत्' ।

" = VIII. 18-9 ——मनुनारदबौधायनहारिताः । 'पादो...निन्द्यते' ।

p. 211 = VIII. 74*a* ——तत्र साक्ष्यमाह मनुः । 'समक्षदर्शनात् साक्ष्यं श्रवणाच्चैव सिध्यति' ।

" = VIII. 69*a* ——'अनुभावी....साक्ष्यं विवादिनाम्' इति तद्वचनान्तरात् ।

" = VIII. 76 ——अतएव मनुः । 'यत्रानिरुद्धो....यथाश्रुतम्' ।

p. 213 = VIII. 77 (with K.B.) ——तदाह मनुः । 'एकोऽप्यलुब्धः साक्षी....ये वृताः' । (Manu reads एको लुब्धस्त्वसाक्षी०.)

pp. 214-5 = VIII. 68, 69*b*, 70, 87-88 ——मनुः । 'स्त्रीणां साक्ष्यं....पातकैः' ।

p. 215 = VIII. 89 ——'ब्रह्मघ्ना(घ्नो?).....मृषा' इति मनूक्तं दूषणं सत्फलञ्च (सत्यफलञ्च?) 'अश्वमेधसहस्रन्तु..... सत्यमेवातिरिच्यते' इति मनुनारदोक्तं श्रावयेत् । (The second verse is missing in Manu but is Nār. 4/211.)

p. 218 = VIII. 25 ——तदाह मनुः । 'बाह्यै.....चेष्टितेन च' ।

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Vy.T.	Manu	
p. 222	= VIII. 147	—तथा च मनुनारदौ । 'यत्किञ्चिद्दशवर्षाणि . . . . तल्लब्धुमर्हति' ।
p. 228	= VIII. 113, 114*b*	—मनुः । 'सत्येन . . . . . पृथक्' ।
p. 229	= VIII. 111-2	—मनुः । 'न वृथा . . . . . नास्ति पातकम्' ।
p. 231	= VIII. 51	—निर्णयोत्तरकृत्यमाह मनुः । 'अर्थे . . . उक्तितः' ।
,,	= IX. 233	—मनुः । 'तीरितं . . . . . निवर्तयेत्' ।
,,	= VIII. 168	—मनुः । 'बलाद्दत्तं . . . . मनुरब्रवीत्' ।
p. 232	= VIII. 167	—'कुटुम्बार्थे . . . . . विचालयेत्' इति मनुवचनात् । (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 178 of D.T.)

12. Śuddhitattva

S.T.	Manu	
p. 244	= V. 78	—मनुः । 'अन्तर्दशाहे . . . . स्यादनिर्दशम्' ।
p. 245	= V. 82	—'शुध्येद्विप्रो . . . . शुध्यति' इति मनूक्त . . . परम् ।
p. 246	= V. 78*a*	—'अन्तदशाहे . . . . जन्मनी' । (Part of the quot. on p. 244 of Ś.T.)
pp. 248-9	= IV. 35*a*	—'क्लृप्त . . . . . शुचिः' इति मनूक्त . . . . ।
p. 252	= IX. 180	—'क्षेत्रजादीन् . . . . . मनीषिणः' इति मनूक्तेः ।
p. 254	= V. 78*a*	—अथ . . . . . मनुस्मृतौ 'अन्तर्दशाह' इति श्रवणात् ।
,,	= V. 83*a*	—अतएव मनुनैव 'न वर्धयेदघाहानि' इत्युक्तम् ।
pp. 261-2	= V. 65	—तथाहि 'रात्रिभिर्मास . . . . रजस्वला' इति मनुवचने ।
p. 264	= V. 71	—तथा च मनुः । 'स्त्रीणामसंस्कृतानान्तु . . . सनाभयः' ।
p. 268	= V. 138	—तथाहि 'शूद्राणां . . . . भोजनम्' इति मनुवचनात् । (The same as the quot. on p. 111 of U.T.)
,,	= X. 43	—इदानीन्तन . . . . . शूद्रत्वमाह मनुः । 'शनकैस्तु . . . . दर्शनेन च' ।
p. 269	= II. 30*a*	—'नामधेयं . . . . . कारयेत्' इति मनुवचनात् ।
p. 271	= V. 67-8, V. 66	—एवञ्च . . . . मनुः । 'ऊनद्विवार्षिकं . . . . त्र्यहमेव हि' । अकृतचूडेऽपि स एव । 'नृणाम् . . . . च्छुद्धिरिष्यते' ।
p. 274	= V. 77	—'बाले . . . . विशुध्यति' इति मनुवचनात् ।
p. 275	= IV. 178	—'येनास्य . . . . दुष्यति' इति मनुवचनात् ।
,,	= V. 76	—पुत्र . . . मनुः । 'निर्दशं . . . मानवः' ।

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S.T.	Manu,	
p. 276 =	V. 82	—तथा च मनुः । 'शुध्येद्विप्रो . . . शुध्यति' । (The same as the quot. on p. 245 of S.T.)
p. 279 =	V. 58	—अतएव 'दन्तजाते . . . . . तथोच्यते' इति मनुवचने ।
p. 280 =	V. 80*a*	—'श्रोत्रिये . . . . . अशुचिर्भवेत्' इति मनुवचने ।
p. 281 =	V. 80*b*	—मनुः । 'मातुले . . . . बान्धवेषु च' ।
„ =	V. 81*b*	—'अश्रोत्रिये . . . . . कृत्स्नम्' इति मनुवचनैकवाक्यत्वात् ।
p. 283 =	V. 80*b*	—'मातुले . . . . रात्रि'मिति मनुवचने । (Part of the 1st quot. on p. 281 of S.T. above.)
p. 288 =		—मनुः । 'शस्त्रेणाभिमुखो . . . . . विधीयते' ।
p. 293 =	V. 86	—मनुः । 'नारं . . . . . ईक्ष्य वा' ।
pp. 293-4 =	V. 100-101	—मनुः । 'असपिण्डं . . . गृहे वसेत्' ।
p. 296 =	V. 125	—मनुः । 'त्रीणि . . . . प्रशस्यते' ।
„ =	V. 131	—मनुः । 'मक्षिका . . . मेध्यानि निदिशेत्' ।
p. 297 =	V. 114	—मनुः । 'द्रव्याणाञ्चैव . . . . . तक्षणम्' ।
„ =	V. 117	—मनुः । 'अद्भिस्तु . . . . शौचं विधीयते' ।
p. 303 =	V. 133	—मलान्याह मनुः । 'वसाशुक्र . . . . नृणां मलाः' ।
„ =	V. 130*b*	—विशेषयति मनुः । 'देहाच्चैव च्युता मलाः' । (Manu reads ०मलाश्च्युताः.)
„ =	III. 269	—मरणान्तरकर्मणि . . . . मनुः । 'प्राचीनावीतिना . . . . दर्भपाणिना' । (The same as the quot. on p. 185 of T.T. and on p. 231 of Sr.T.)
p. 315 =	VIII. 210	—तद्विभागं मनुरप्याह । 'सर्वेषाम् . . . श्चैकपादिनः' । (The same as the quot. on p. 739 of M.T.)
p. 325 =	IX. 106	—'ज्येष्ठेन . . . . महर्हति' इति मनूक्तेः ।
p. 326 =	IX. 126*b*	—'यमयोश्चैक . . . ज्येष्ठता स्मृता' इति मनुवचनान्तरात् ।
pp. 332-3 =	III. 269*a*	—अतएव मनुना . . . उक्तम् । यथा 'प्राचीनावीतिना . . . . अतन्द्रिणा' इति । (Part of the quot. on p. 185 of T.T. and on p. 231 of Sr.T.)
p. 337 =	V. 98	—मङ्गलं . . . . मनुः । 'विप्रः . . . . कृतक्रियः' । (The same as the quot. on p. 278 of Sr.T.)
pp. 347-8 =	VIII. 212	—अतएव यज्ञाद्यर्थं . . . . ग्रहणमाह मनुः । 'धर्मार्थं . . . . तद्भुवेत्' ।
pp. 350-1 =	X. 115	—मनुः । 'सप्त वित्तागमा . . . सत्प्रतिग्रह एव च' ।

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S.T.	Manu	
p. 352 =	XI. 15	—मनुरपि 'तथैव सप्तमे . . . हीनकर्मणा'।
p. 355 =	VIII. 105	—अतएव मनुः। 'वाग्दैवत्यैश्च . . . निष्कृतिं पराम्'।
p. 358 =	XI. 3*a*	—'एतेभ्योऽपि . . . . सदक्षिणम्' इति मनुवचनात्।
p. 361 =		—तथा मनुः। 'वृद्धौ . . . मनुरब्रवीत्'। . . . 'न तु तृप्येत स्वयं ततः' इति मनुस्मृतेः।
p. 362 =	X. 101–3 (with K.B.)	—मनुः। 'वैश्यवृत्ति . . . . ज्वलनाम्बुसमा हि ते'। (Partly the same as the 4th quot. on p. 353 of A.T.)
,, =		—मनुः। 'यद्यदिष्टतमं . . . . तदेवाक्षयमिष्यते'।
p. 364 =	IV. 229–32	—मनुः। 'वारिदस्तृप्ति . . . . . ब्रह्मसार्ष्टिताम्'।
p. 381 =	X. 127 (with K.B.)	—मनुरपि शूद्रस्य . . . आह। 'धर्मैश्चरन्ति . . . प्राप्नुवन्ति च'। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 793 of M.T. Manu and M.T. read धर्मेप्सवस्तु०.)
p. 383 =	II. 172	—श्राद्धे . . . . . मनुः। 'नाभिव्याहारयेद् . . . . . वेदे न जायते'। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 24 of T.T.)
p. 384 =	IX. 142*b*	—'गोत्रऋक्थानुगः पिण्डः' इति मनुवचनेन। (Part of the quot. on p. 114 of U.T.)
,, =	IX. 133	—'पौत्रदौहित्रयोर्लोके . . . . तस्य देहतः' इति मनुवचनेन। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 191 of D.T.)
p. 385 =	IX. 142*b*	—'गोत्रऋक्थानुगः पिण्डः' इति मनूक्तेः। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 384 of S.T. and part of the quot. on p. 114 of U.T.)
,, =	IX. 201	—'अनंशौ . . . . निरिन्द्रियाः' इति मनूक्तानाम्।
p. 387 =	IX. 187*a*	—'अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद् . . . . धनं भवेत्' इति धनाधिकारे तथा दर्शनात्। (Part of the quot. on p. 195 of D.T.)
p. 388 =		—'दुहिता . . . . संस्कृता' इति मनुवचनात्।
,, =	IX. 133	—'पौत्रदौहित्रयोर्लोके . . . . तस्य देहतः' इत्यनेन . . . . प्रागेव उक्तत्वात्। (The same as the 2nd quotations on p. 191 of D.T. and on p. 384 of S.T.)
,, =	IX. 183	—यथा मनुः। 'सर्वासामेकपत्नीनामेका . . . पुत्रवतीर्मनुः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 300 of Sr.T. and as the 1st quot. on p. 187 of D.T.)
p. 389 =	IX. 182	—तमाह मनुः। 'भ्रातॄणामेकजातानामेक . . . पुत्रिणो मनुरब्रवीत्'।

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S.T. Manu

p. 389 = IX. 138*a* ——तथाहि 'पुत्रान्मो....यतेत सः' इति मनुवचने.... विहितम्। (Manu reads the second line otherwise)

p. 391 = IX. 142*b* ——धनग्राहित्वेनापि.....मनुः। 'गोत्रऋक्थानुगः पिण्डः' इति। (The same as the 1st quotations on pp. 384 and 385 of S.T. and part of the quot. on p. 114 of U.T.)

p. 399 = V. 70*b* ——अतएव मनुः। 'जन्मन्ये....शुद्धिरिष्यते'।

13. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. Manu

p. 491 = III. 206 ——इदञ्च करप्रोञ्छनं...इत्याह मनुः। 'नुप्य पिण्डां.... लेपभागिनाम्'।

p. 494 = III. 248*b* (with K.B.) ——तदुक्तं मनुना 'दक्षिणां.....पितॄन्' इति। (The same as the 1st quotations on p. 183 of T.T. and on p. 244 of Sr.T.)

14. Devapratiṣṭhātattva

D.P.T. Manu

p. 508 = VIII. 134*b*-135*a* ——पलमाह मनुः। 'पञ्चकृष्णलको...श्चत्वारः' इति। (The same as the quot. on p. 59 of E.T. and partly the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 518 of P.T.)

15. Śrīpuruṣottamatattva

S.P.T. Manu

p. 568 = IX. 314 ——'यैः कृतः.....प्रकोप्य तान्' इति मनुनाभिहितत्वाच्च।

16. Divyatattva

Div.T. Manu

p. 580 = VIII. 132 ——'जालान्तरगते....प्रचक्षते' इति मनूक्तम्।

p. 581 = VIII. 134*b* ——'पञ्चकृष्णलको...षोडश' इत्युक्ता। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 518 of P.T. and part of the quotations on p. 59 of E.T. and on p. 508 of D.P.T.)

p. 587 = III. 2 ——तथा च मनुः। 'वेदानधीत्य....माचरेत्' इति।

p. 596 = VIII. 134*b*-135*a* ——पलपरिमाणमाह मनुः। 'पञ्चकृष्णलको...श्चत्वारः' इति। (The same as the quotations on p. 59 of E.T. and on p. 508 of D.P.T. and partly the same as the 2nd. quot. on p. 518 of P.T. and as the quot. on p. 581 of Div. T.)

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Div.T. Manu

p. 611 = VIII. 113, 114*b* —मनुः। 'सत्येन.....स्पर्शयेत् पृथक्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 228 of Vy.T.)

p. 612 = VIII. 114*b* —'पुत्रदारस्य....स्पर्शयेत् पृथक्' इति मनुवचनान्तरे तथा दर्शनात्।
(Part of the quotations on p. 228 of Vy.T. and on p. 611 of Div.T.)

17. Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇatattva

S.K.T. Manu

p. 635 = II. 34*b* —अत्र 'षष्ठेऽन्नप्राशनं.....कुले' इति मनुवचनात्।

(*b*) *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Yāj.

p. 14 = I. 253*b* —'एतत्....स्त्रिया अपि' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनैकवाक्यत्वात्।

p. 15 = I. 252*b* and 253*b* —एवञ्च 'अघ्यर्थं....स्त्रिया अपि' इति याज्ञवल्क्येन।
(Partly the same as the quot. just above.)

p. 24 = I. 121*b* —'नमस्कारेण....हापयेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्येन।

p. 64 = I. 255 —'मृताहनि.....मेकादशेऽहनि' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचने।

p. 90 = I. 147 —'पशु.....तथोच्छ्रये' इति याज्ञवल्क्यीयात्।

„ = I. 175*b* —'मत्स्यांस्तु....वसेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्याद्युक्तप्रायश्चित्तश्रवणेन....निषिद्धस्य।

pp. 90-91 = I. 179 —'प्राणात्यये....न दोषभाक्' इति तेनैव प्रतिप्रसूतस्य।

p. 119 = —'यं यं....फलम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्ताध्ययनात्।

p. 159 = I. 145-6 —अन्यत्र त्वहोरात्रमनध्यायो याज्ञवल्क्यात् यथा। 'सन्ध्या.....प्रतिगृह्य च'।

p. 162 = I. 135*b* —ईक्षितेत्यनुवृत्तौ याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'नाशुची राहुतारका' इत्यत्राशुचेः।

p. 175 = I. 238-9 —तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'सव्याहृतिकां....:पूर्वजपं तथा'।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Yāj.

p. 190 = I. 268*a* —न तु 'वसु.....देवताः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनाद्।

p. 199 = I. 226 —याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अपराह्णे....आसनेषूपवेशयेत्'।

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Sr.T.	Yāj.	
p. 201 =	I. 229 and I. 232*b* (with D.K.)	—'पाणिप्रक्षालनं. . . . इत्यृचा'। तथा 'द्विगुणांस्तु. . . . पितॄन्' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः।
p. 208 =	I. 229 and I. 232*b* (with D.K.)	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'पाणिप्रक्षालनं. . . . इत्यृचा। द्विगुणांस्तु. . . . . पितॄन्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 201 of Sr.T.)
p. 210 =		—याज्ञवल्क्योऽपि 'रौद्र. . . . आचरेत्'।
p. 211 =	I. 230*a*–231*a*	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'यवै. . . . . निवेदयेत्'।
,, =	I. 229*b*–230*b*	—'आवाहयेत्य(द?)नुज्ञातो. . . . इत्यृचा। यवै. . . . यवांस्तथा' इति याज्ञवल्क्यविरोधात्। (Partial mixture of the quotation on p. 201 (= p. 208) and the 1st quot. on p. 211.)
p. 213 =	I. 234	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'दत्त्वार्घ्यं. . . . करोत्यधः'।
p. 214 =	I. 234*b*	—याज्ञवल्क्यवचने 'करोती'त्यनुषङ्गापत्तेः।
,, =	I. 234*b*	—पितृपात्रस्य याज्ञवल्क्यीया 'धः' स्थत्वाय।
p. 217 =	I. 236	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'हुतशेषं. . . . . विशेषतः'।
p. 220 =	I. 236-7	—यत्तु 'हुतशेषं. . . . निवेशयेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनेन। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 217 of Sr.T.)
p. 224 =	I. 257-8 (with D.K.)	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'हविष्यान्नेन. . . . पितामहाः'।
p. 230 =	I. 238-9	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'सव्याहृतिकां. . . पूर्वजपन्तथा'। (The same as the quot. on p. 175 of T.T.)
p. 231 =	III. 331	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'श्लोकत्रयमपि. . . . नात्र संशयः'।
p. 278 =	I. 255	—आद्यश्राद्धकालमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'मृताहनि. . . एकादशेऽहनि'। (The same as the quot. on p. 64 of T.T.)
p. 295 =	I. 253*b*	—'एतत् सपिण्डीकरणम्. . . स्त्रिया अपि' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनैकवाक्यत्वात्। (The same as the quot. on p. 14 of T.T.)

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T.	Yāj.	
p. 331 =	I. 17*b*	—'गन्धलेपक्षयकरं. . . . अतन्त्रि(न्द्रि?)तः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यात्।
p. 334 =	I. 18 (with Mit.)	—पिबेद्. . . इत्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अन्तर्जानु. . . . नित्यमुपस्पृशेत्'।

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A.T.	Yāj.	
p. 334 =	I. 20*b*-21*b*	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अद्भिस्तु . . . स्पृष्टाभिरन्ततः'।
p. 340 =	I. 196	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'स्नात्वा . . . . . विपरिधाय च'।
p. 345 =	I. 98*b*	——एतत्परमेव 'प्रातःसन्ध्यां ततः कुर्य्यात् दन्तधावनपूर्वकम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनम्। (Yāj. reads प्रातःसन्ध्यामुपासीत दन्तधावनपूर्विकाम्)
p. 346 =	I. 99*b*	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'वेदार्थानधिगच्छेत्तु . . . विविधानि च'।
p. 350 =	I. 100*a*, I. 123	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'उपेयादीश्वरञ्चैव . . . सिद्धये'। 'वयो-वृद्धचर्थ . . . . . अशठान्तथा'।
p. 352 =	I. 120	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'शूद्रस्य . . . . . द्विजातिहितमाचरन्'।
p. 354 =		——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'वृद्धेर्वृद्धि . . . . कायकर्मणा'।
pp. 364-5 =		——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशामेव . . . शोधयेद् बुधः'।
p. 365 =	I. 121	——एवञ्च 'भार्य्यारतिः . . . . हापयेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यविशेषो-पदिष्ट . . . . प्रतीयते। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 24 of T.T.)
pp. 366-7 =	I. 159*a*	——तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'पञ्च पिण्डान् . . . परवारिणि'। (Yāj. reads °परवारिषु.)
p. 373 =		——अत्र . . . याज्ञवल्क्योक्त-प्रयोगविधिर्ग्राह्यः। स च 'अन्वा-रब्धेन . . . . . प्रणवादिना'।
p. 377 =		——'तिलानामप्यभावे तु . . . . . चान्यथा' इति याज्ञवल्क्यात्।
p. 379 =		——'सवर्णेभ्यो . . . . . नान्यवर्णेभ्य एव च' इति याज्ञ-वल्क्यीयात्।
,, =		——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'स्नात्वैव . . . . . प्रक्षालयेत्तदा'।
p. 380 =		——अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'सर्वावस्थोऽपि . . . अन्त्यजन्म-गतोऽपि सन्'।
p. 381 =		——तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'सन्धौ . . . . . रवौ'।
p. 382 =		——तत्र . . . . . याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'यन्न्यून . . . . मन्त्रेणाविकलं भवेत्'।
p. 389 =		——ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वे शङ्खयाज्ञवल्क्यौ। 'प्रणवो . . . . क्रम-शस्तु वै'।
p. 395 =	I. 101	——तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'वेदाथर्व . . . . . जपेत्'।
p. 400 =		——'द्विजस्तृणैधः . . . . स्ववदाहरेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यात्।
p. 422 =	I. 103*a*	——तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'देवेभ्यश्च . . . . हरेत्'।

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A.T. Yāj.

p. 425 = I. 121 ——'भार्य्यारतिः.....हापयेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्याच्च। (The same as the quot. on p. 365 of A.T.)

p. 450 = I. 180-81 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'वसेत्....मांसस्य वर्जनात्'। (Yāj. reads °मांसविवर्जनात्.)

p. 454 = ——'अज्ञातञ्च सदा शुचि' इति याज्ञवल्क्यैकवाक्यत्वात्।

p. 460 = I. 114 ——याज्ञवल्क्याङ्गिरसौ। 'उपास्य....संविशेत्'।

p. 461 = I. 79 (with Mit.) ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'षोडशर्त्तु....वर्जयेत्'।

p. 464 = I. 80*a* ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'एवं गच्छन्.....वर्जयेत्। सदोपवीतिना....कृतम्।' (Yāj. omits the last two lines.)

p. 465 = I. 80*b* ——'शस्त....पुमान्'। (Yaj. reads सुस्थ for शस्त.)

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Yāj.

p. 469 = I. 18*b* (with Mit.) ——तथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'प्राग् (वा) ब्राह्मेण....स्पृशेत्'। (Part of the 1st quot. on p. 334 of A.T.)

p. 472 = III. 299 ——यथा....याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'घटे....सत्क्रिया'।

p. 473 = III. 222 ——तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वाणाः.... दारुणान्'।

„ = III. 219 ——'विहितस्या....पतनमृच्छति' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचने प्रत्यवायश्रुतेः।

p. 478 = I. 7*b* (with टीका =D.K.) ——'सम्यक्.....स्मृतम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात्। तथा 'धर्माय.....न निष्फलः' इति तट्टीकायाम्।

p. 480 = III. 219 ——यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'विहितस्या....पतनमृच्छति'। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 473 of P.T.)

p. 481 = III. 292*a* ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'विप्र....निपातने'।

„ = III. 233, III. 281 ——तथा हि याज्ञवल्क्यः। ''आचार्य्यपत्नीं....योषितः'। तथा 'अवकीर्णी.....विशुध्यति'।

p. 486 = I. 215 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अयाचिताहृतं.....द्विषस्तथा'। (Yāj. reads °तथा द्विषः.)

p. 513 = II. 170 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'विक्रेतुर्दर्शनाच्छुद्धिः...विक्रयी'।

p. 515 = II. 177 ——यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'दशैक....परीक्षणम्'।

„ = II. 256 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'राजदैवोपघातेन.....प्रयच्छतः'।

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P.T.	Yāj.	
p. 517 =	I. 364*a*	—तत्र 'ताम्रिकः वार्षिकः (कार्षिकः?)पणः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनेन। (Yāj. reads कार्षिकस्ताम्रिकः०.)
p. 529 =	II. 163	—स्वाम्यभावेनोत्सृष्टपशोः...मोच्यत्वमप्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'महोक्षोत्सृष्टपशवः...परिप्लुताः'।
p. 530 =	II. 161	—'यावत्शस्यं....दण्डमर्हति' (इति) याज्ञवल्क्यवचने।
pp. 534-5 =	III. 285*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'क्रियमाणोपकारे...न पातकम्। विपाके ...भेषजाग्निक्रियासु च'। (Yāj. omits the second line.)
p. 537 =	II. 226 and I. 364*b* — 365*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्योक्तदण्डविधौ...यथा...'लिङ्गस्य...दमः' .....स तु...तेनैवोक्तः यथा 'साशीति.... मधमः स्मृतः'।
p. 540 =	III. 252*a* (with Mit.)	—यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'चरेद्व्रतमहत्वापि...समागतः'।
,, =	III. 292*a*	—ततश्च 'विप्रदण्डोद्यमे....निपातने' इति याज्ञवल्क्यदण्डोद्यमे। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 481 of P.T.)
p. 544 =	III. 221 (with Mit.)	—'प्रायश्चित्तै....वचनादेव जायते' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात्। (Yāj. reads °वचनादिह°.)
p. 545 =	III. 298 (with Mit.)	—अतएव.....याज्ञवल्क्योक्तम्। 'शरणागत..... निमान्'।
p. 552 =	III. 314	—सान्तपनमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'कुशोदकञ्च....चरन्'। (Yāj. reads कुशोदकं तु and चरेत्.)
p. 555 =	II. 235*b*–237*b*	—याज्ञवल्क्येनाप्यत्र दण्डविधानात् प्रायश्चित्तं सूचितम्। यथा 'अयुक्तं शपथं....शतदण्डभाक्'।
,, =	III. 314-5	—महासान्तपनमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'कुशोदकञ्च..... महासान्तपनः स्मृतः'। (Yāj. reads सप्ताहेन तु for सप्ताहेनैव in the 2nd verse. Partly the same as the quot. on p. 552 of P.T.)

5. Jyotistattva

J.T.	Yāj.	
p. 617 =	I. 80	—यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'एवं गच्छन्.....पुमान्'। (The same as the traced portions of the quot. on pp. 464 and 465 of A.T., combined together.)
pp. 677-8 =	III. 165	—व्यक्तमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'वर्त्याधार.....प्राणसंशयः'। [Yāj. reads देह (प्राण)-संक्षयः.]

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6. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Yāj.

p. 742 = I. 347*b*-348*a* ——अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'दैवे....पौर्वदेहिकम्'।

p. 747 = I. 11*a*–13*a* ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'गर्भाधानमृतौ....समुद्भवम्'।

" = I. 79*a* ——स च कालो याज्ञवल्क्योक्तः। 'षोडशर्त्तुर्निशाः.... संविशेत्'। (Part of the quot. on p. 461 of A.T.)

p. 748 = I. 37 (with D.K., K.B. and Mit.) ——उपनयनोत्तरावधिमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'आषोडशाच्च... औपनायनिकः परः'।

p. 750 = II. 265 ——'जिह्मां (ह्मं?).....कर्षककर्मिणाम्' इति सम्भूयवाणिज्ये याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात्।

p. 794 = I. 312*b* ——'श्रौतस्मार्त....ऋत्विजः स्वयम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः। (Yāj. reads एव चर्त्विजः for ऋत्विजः स्वयम्.)

" = I. 121*b* ——'नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण....हापयेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यीयेन। (The same as the quot. on p. 24 of T.T. and part of the quot. on p. 365 of A.T.)

p. 800 = I. 260 (with Mit.) ——याज्ञवल्क्येनापि। 'यद्दाति गयास्थश्च...मघासु च विशेषतः'। (Yāj. reads वर्षास्वेवं and न संशयः for तथा वर्षा and विशेषतः respectively.)

p. 811 = I. 248 ——अन्यथा 'प्रदक्षिणमनुव्रज्य....ब्राह्मणैः सह' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तस्य।

p. 836 = III. 165 ——व्यक्तमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'वर्त्याधार....प्राणसंशयः'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 677-8 of J.T.)

p. 847 = II. 265 ——तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'जिह्मां....कर्षककर्मिणाम्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 750 of M.T.)

7. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Yāj.

p. 881 = ——'प्रमादात् कुर्वतां....विष्णोः संस्मरणाय वै' इति याज्ञवल्क्यात्।

p. 892 = I. 58 and 60 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'ब्राह्मो...महात्मना'। (Yāj. reads the third line differently in the text portion but similarly with the above quot. in a footnote as a diff. read. and reads the latter half of the fourth line as षड्वंश्यान् सह चाऽऽत्मना)

p. 893 = I. 63-4 ——दानाधिकारमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'पिता...स्वयं वरम्'। (Yāj. reads गम्यं for कामं.)

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Sm.T. Yāj.

p. 908 = I. 79*a* —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'षोडशर्त्तु. . . . संविशेत्' ।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 747 of M.T. and part of the quot. on p. 461 of A.T.)

" = I. 11*a*–13*a* —तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'गर्भाधानमृतौ. . . . समुद्भवम्' ।
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 747 of M.T.)

p. 916 = I. 236*b* —'यथालाभोपपन्नं वा. . . . विशेषतः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचने पात्रे तद्दर्शनात् ।
(Yāj. reads यथालाभोपपन्नेषु°.)

p. 926 = I. 13*b* —'तूष्णीमेताः. . . . समन्त्रकः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनाच्च ।

p. 936 = I. 30 —'आदिमध्यावसानेषु. . . . . यथाक्रमम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनाच्च ।

pp. 943-4 = I. 293*b*–307*a* —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'श्रीकामः. . . . . पूज्यतमा ग्रहाः' ।

8. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Yāj.

p. 7 = III. 318 —'एकभक्तेन. . . . पादकृच्छ्र उदाहृतः' इत्यादियाज्ञवल्क्योक्तेषु ।

p. 22 = I. 79 (with Mit.) —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'षोडशर्त्तु. . . . वर्जयेत्' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 461 of A.T. and partly the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 747 of M.T. and as the 1st quot. on p. 908 of Sm.T.)

p. 26 = III. 219 —यद्यपि 'विहितस्या. . . . पतनमृच्छति' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात् ।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 473 of P.T.)

p. 67 = —'द्विजस्तृणैः (°णैध.?) . . . . . स्वयमाहरेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यात् ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 400 of A.T.)

9. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Yāj.

p. 106 = I. 58*a* (with Mit.) —अतएव 'ब्राह्मो. . . . शक्त्यलङ्कृता' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचने ।
(Part of the quot. on p. 892 of Sm.T.)

p. 107 = I. 78 —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'लोकानन्त्यं. . . . सुरक्षिताः' ।

p. 113 = II. 130*b* —दत्तकपुत्रमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'दद्यान्माता. . . . दत्तको भवेत्' ।
(Yāj. reads °दत्तकः स्मृतः.)

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U.T. Yāj.

pp. 125-6 = I. 347*b*-348*a* ——अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'दैवे.....पौर्वदेहिकम्' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 742 of M.T.)

p. 127 = II. 124 ——संस्कृतानामधिकारमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'असंस्कृतास्तु.... तुरीयकम्' । (Yāj. reads असंस्कृताश्च°.)

" = I. 63–65 ——तथा 'पिता.....आव्रजेत्' ।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 893 of Sm.T. Yāj. reads पूर्वात् for कन्यां in the last line.)

" = II. 131*b* ——'दत्तात्मा तु स्वयं दत्तः' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्त° ।

p. 128 = I. 58–61 ——ब्राह्मादीनाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'ब्राह्मो...च्छलात्' ।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 892 of Sm.T. Yāj. reads गोद्वयम् in the third line, षड्वंश्यान् सह चाऽऽत्मना in the sixth line and कन्यकां in the eighth line for गोयुगम्, षड्वंश्यांश्च सहात्मना and कन्यका respectively.)

p. 129 = I. 67*a* ——क्षतयोन्या अपि संस्कारमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'अक्षता.... संस्कृता पुनः' इति ।

p. 140 = II. 146 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'दत्तां....व्ययम्' ।
(Yāj. reads दद्यात् सहोदयम् and सर्वम् for दद्याच्च सोदयम् in the 1st line and दत्तम् in the 2nd line respectively.)

10. Dāyatattva

D.T. Yāj.

pp. 162-3 = II. 135-6 ——दायभागमुपक्रम्य 'पत्नी....विधिः' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः ।
(cf. दायभाग for the subsequent prose comment.)

p. 166 = ——यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'मणिमुक्ता....पितामहः' ।

" = II. 115 ——यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'यदि कुर्य्यात्....श्वशुरेण वा' ।

" = II. 148 ——'अधिविन्नस्त्रियै...प्रकीर्तितम्' इति विवाहे याज्ञवल्क्य-दर्शनेन ।

" = II. 121 ——'भूर्या.....चोभयोः' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तञ्च ।

p. 167 = ——तथा च 'स्थावरं....विक्रयः' ।

p. 168 = II. 114 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'विभागश्चे(ञ्चे?)त्....समांशिनः' ।

p. 169 = II. 133*b*–134*b* ——याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'जातोऽपि....सुतादृते' ।

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D.T.	Yāj.	
p. 175 =	II. 123*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'पितृभ्याञ्चैव . . . धनं भवेत्' । (Yāj. reads पितृभ्यां यस्य० ।)
,, =	II. 23	—'सर्वेष्वेव विवादेषु . . . . . बलवत्तरा' इति याज्ञवल्क्य-वचनात् ।
p. 177 =	II. 119	—अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'क्रमादभ्यागतं . . . . लब्धमेव च' ।
p. 179 =	II. 52	—अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'भ्रातॄणामथ . . . . . तत्-स्मृतम्' ।
pp. 179-80 =	II. 115*a*	—तथापि 'यदि कुर्य्यात् . . . . समांशिकाः' इति याज्ञवल्क्येन । (Part of the 2nd quot. on p. 166 of D.T.)
p. 181 =	II. 28	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'आगमस्तु . . . . गरीयसी' ।
p. 184 =	II. 265*a*	—प्रत्युत 'जिह्मं . . . . निर्लाभम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यीयेन । (Part of the quot. on pp. 750 and 847 of M.T.)
p. 185 =	II. 147	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'दुर्भिक्षे . . . . . दातुमर्हति' ।
p. 187 =	II. 132*b*	—'पिण्डदोऽशहरः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यीयात् ।
pp. 188-9 =	II. 135-136	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'पत्नी . . . . . विधिः' । (The same as the quot. on pp. 162-3 of D.T.)
p. 192 =	II. 138-9	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'संसृष्टिनस्तु . . . . नान्यमातृजः' ।
p. 196 =	II. 120*b* (with Mit.)	—'अनेकपितृकाणान्तु पितृतो भागकल्पना' इत्यत्र ।

11. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T.	Yāj.	
p. 197 =	II. 5	—अत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'स्मृत्याचार . . . पदं हि तत्' ।
p. 199 =	II. 2	—तथाविधानाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'श्रुताध्ययन . . . . . ये समाः' ।
p. 201 =	II. 9*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'अभियोग . . . . प्रत्यभियोजयेत्' ।
p. 202 =	II. 10*b*	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'उभयोः . . . तयोः' । . . . . तदाह । 'प्रत्यर्थी . . . . . हीयते' । . . . . . याज्ञवल्क्यः ।
	II. 12	—'साहस . . . स्मृतः' । (Yāj. omits the 2nd line of the 1st quot.)
p. 205 =	II. 19	—अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'छलं . . . . . व्यवहारतः' ।
p. 206 =	II. 7*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'श्रुतार्थ . . . . . सन्निधौ' ।
p. 208 =	II. 17	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'साक्षिषूभयतः . . . . . भवन्त्युत्तर-वादिनः' ।

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Vy.T. p. 208 = Yāj. II. 24 —'पश्यतो . . . धनस्य दशवार्षिकी' इति याज्ञवल्क्यीयं बीजं . . . . . 'परेण . . . भूमेर्विंशतिवार्षिकी' इति . . . . भवदेवभट्टः । 'पश्यतो . . . . भूमेर्विंशतिवार्षिकी । . . . . . धनस्य दशवार्षिकी' इति शूलपाणिधृतपाठोऽपि तत्रार्थे प्रमाणम् । (Yāj. reads as the 2nd reading, accepted by Śūlapāṇi with the simple change of भूमेर्हानिर् for हानिर्भूमेर्)

p. 210 = II. 7*b* —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'ततोऽर्थी . . . . . साधकम्' । (Yāj. reads साधनम्.)

p. 211 = II. 22 —लिखिताद्यभावेनापि दिव्यमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'प्रमाणं . . . . . दिव्यान्यतममुच्यते' ।

„ = II. 95-6 —दिव्यानाह स एव । 'तुलाग्न्यापो . . . . नृपद्रोहेऽथ पातके' ।

p. 212 = II. 69 —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'व्यवराः . . . . . स्मृताः' । (Yāj. reads ०परा: for ०रता: in the 1st line.)

„ = II. 72*a* —व्यवरा . . . स एव । 'उभयानुमतः . . . . धर्मवित्' । (Yāj. reads भवत्येकोऽपि for भवेदेकोऽपि.)

p. 215 = II. 77 —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'न ददाति हि यः साक्ष्यं . . . चैव हि' ।

„ = II. 79 and II. 83 —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'सत्यां प्रतिज्ञां . . . सारस्वतो द्विजैः' । (Yāj. reads a bit differently.)

„ = II. 78 —'द्वैधे . . . . गुणवत्तराः' । (Yāj. reads गुणवत्तमाः.)

pp. 216-7 = II. 20 —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'निह्नुते . . . . . ग्राह्यस्त्वनिवेदितः' । (Yāj. reads a slight differently.)

p. 218 = II. 13–15 —मुखनिरूप्यत्वे तु याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'देशाद्देशान्तरं . . . स दुष्टः परिकीर्तितः' । (Yāj. reads the last line a bit differently.)

p. 220 = II. 80 —याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'उक्तेऽपि . . . पूर्वसाक्षिणः' । (Yāj. reads गुणवत्तमाः for गुणवत्तराः in the 1st line.)

„ = II. 82 —तथा । 'यः साक्ष्यं . . . . विवासयेत्' । (Yāj. reads a slight differently.)

p. 222 = II. 24 —तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'पश्यतो . . . दशवार्षिकी' । (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 208 of Vy.T.)

pp. 223-4 = II. 25 —पश्यतो . . . इत्यभिधाय याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'आधि . . . . धनैरिह' । (Yāj. reads °धनैरपि ।)

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Vy.T. Yāj.	
p. 224 = II. 27–29 (with D.K. and Mit.)	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'आगमो....विना कृता'।
p. 225 = II. 23	—'सर्वेष्वेव.....बलवत्तरा' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनान्निर्णयः। (The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 175 of D.T.)
p. 226 = I. 350*b*-351*a*	—'हिरण्यभूमिलाभेभ्यो.....तत्प्राप्ताविति वेदविदां मतम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तार्थशास्त्रार्थमुत्सृज्य। (Yāj. reads °लाभेषु and °तत्प्राप्तौ रक्षेत् सत्यं समाहितः।)
p. 231 = I. 366	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'ज्ञात्वापराधं....दापयेत्'।
,, =	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'दुर्दृष्टांस्तु.....विधिः'।
pp. 231-2 = II. 31-2 (with Mit. and D.K.)	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'बलोपाधि.....सिध्यति'। (Yāj. reads बहिःशत्रु for बहिर्ग्रामं in the 2nd line.)

12. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Yāj.	
p. 240 = I. 348*a*	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'तत्र दैव....दैहिकम्'। (Part of the quot. on p. 742 of M.T. and on pp. 125-6 of U.T.)
p. 245 =	—'उपनीय...उदाहृतः' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः।
p. 265 = III. 82	—'नवमे.....सज्वरः' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्त°।
p. 268 = I. 14	—तत्रोपनयनकालश्च 'गर्भाष्टमे....यथाकुलम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः।
p. 271 = I. 14*a*	—'गर्भाष्टमे....नायनम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यात्। (Part of the quot. on p. 268 of S.T.)
p. 282 = II. 133*b*-134*a*	—'जाता(तोऽ?)पि....स्त्वर्द्धभागिनम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यदर्शनात्।
p. 286 = III. 6*a*	—अतएव 'पाषण्डमाश्रितास्तेनाः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यः।
p. 290 = I. 203*a*	—'दातव्यं...पात्र' इति याज्ञवल्क्यात्।
p. 291 = III. 29*a*	—अतएव 'आपद्यपि....सद्यःशौचं विधीयते' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचने।
p. 293 = III. 26*b*-27*a*	—यत्तु याज्ञवल्क्यवचनम् 'ब्राह्मणेनानुगन्तव्यो....घृतभुक् शुचिः'।
p. 298 = III. 18	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'त्रिरात्रं.....मातुरेव हि'।
,, =	—'आदन्तजननात्.....अतःपरम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यीयेन।
p. 303 = III. 1*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'ऊनद्विवर्षे....ततः'।

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S.T. Yāj: p. 312 =	—'नग्नः. . . . पितृदेवताः' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यञ्च ।
p. 318 = III. 7–14	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'कृतोदकान्. . . . स्नानसंयमात्' इति ।
p. 322 =	—'पिण्डयज्ञावृता. . . . दिनत्रयम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यीय° ।
p. 328 = II. 265	—तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'जिह्मं. . . . . कर्मिणाम्' । (The same as the quot. on pp. 750 and 847 of M.T. and partly the same as the quot. on p. 184 of D.T.)
p. 332 =	—'पिण्डयज्ञावृता. . . . . दिनत्रयम्' इति याज्ञवल्क्येन. . . . तातिदेशात् । (The same as the quot. on p. 322 of S.T.)
p. 336 = III. 25	—'निवासे राजनि. . . . . विद्युता तथा' इति याज्ञवल्क्य-वचने ।
p. 350 = I. 200	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'न विद्यया. . . . . पात्रं प्रचक्षते' ।
„ = I. 203*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'दातव्यं. . . . विशेषतः' । (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 290 of S.T.)
p. 352 =	—यत्तु 'द्रव्यमस्वामि. . . . . समश्नुयात्' इति याज्ञ-वल्क्यीयेन ।
„ = III. 42*a*	—अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'बुभुक्षित. . . . हरेत्' ।
p. 355 = I. 294*b*-295*a*	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'सूर्य्यः. . . . ग्रहाः स्मृताः' ।
p. 360 = I. 202	—अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'विद्यातपोभ्यां. . . मेव च' ।
p. 361 = I. 213–14, I. 215	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'प्रतिग्रह. . . . पुष्कलान्' । अपवादमाह स एव । 'कुशाः. . . . वारि च' । . . . तथा । 'एधोदकं . . . . . दक्षिणाम्' । तथा च मनुः (याज्ञ-वल्क्यः?) । 'अयाचिताहृतं. . . . द्विषः' । (The last quot. is the same as the quot. on p. 486 of P.T.)
pp. 361-2 = I. 127*a*	—अतएव यज्ञार्थे. . . . याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'चाण्डालो. . . . भिक्षणात्' ।
p. 365 = I. 211	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'गृहधान्या. . . . सुखी भवेत्' ।
„ = I. 204–6	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'हेमशृङ्गी. . . पूर्वेण विधिना ददत्' ।
pp. 365-6 = I. 207-8	—उभयतोमुखीमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'यावद्वत्सस्य. . . स्वर्गे महीयते' ।
p. 366 = I. 210	—याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'भूदीपाश्वा. . . . स्वर्गे महीयते' ।

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S.T. Yāj.

p. 381 = I. 121*b* —'नमस्कारेण . . . . हापयेत्' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 24 of T.T. and as the 2nd quot. on p. 794 of M.T. and part of the quot. on p. 365 of A.T.)

p. 384 = II. 135*a*-136*a* —यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। पत्नी . . . . धनभागुत्तरोत्तरः' इति।
(Part of the quot. on pp. 162-3 and pp. 188-9 of D.T.)

p. 385 = III. 5*b* and part of III. 6*a* —व्यक्तं याज्ञवल्क्येन। 'न ब्रह्मचारिणः . . . योषितः'।
(Yāj. reads the last one and a half line otherwise.)

p. 393 = I. 253*b* —याज्ञवल्क्येनापि समन्त्रक . . . . सपिण्डनञ्चोक्त्वा 'एतत् सपिण्डीकरणम् . . . स्त्रिया अपि' इत्यनेन . . . तथैवेत्युक्तम्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 14 of T.T. and on p. 295 of Sr.T. and part of the quot. on p. 15 of T.T.)

13. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. Yāj.

p. 487 = I. 222*9b*–30*b* —'आवाहयेद् . . . . यवांस्तथा' इति याज्ञवल्क्येनावाहने।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 211 of Sr.T.)

p. 489 = —पवित्राणि याज्ञवल्क्यश्लोकत्रयाणि।

14. Divyatattva

Div.T. Yāj.

p. 574 = II. 95 —तत्र महाभियोगे दिव्यानाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'तुलाग्न्यापो . . . . योक्तरि'।
(1st part of the 2nd quot. on p. 211 of Vy.T.)

p. 575 = II. 96 —प्रत्यर्थिस्वीकारेणार्थिनोऽपि दिव्यमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'रुच्यावान्यतरः . . . . पातके'।
(2nd part of the 2nd quot. on p. 211 of Vy.T.)

pp. 577-8 = II. 98 —यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'तुला . . . . विषस्य वा'।

p. 580 = II. 99*a* —एवञ्च 'नासहस्राद् . . . . न विषं तथा' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनम्। (Yāj. reads differently.)

p. 589 = II. 100–102 —याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'तुलाधारण . . . तुलामित्यभिमन्त्रयेत्'।

p. 595 = II. 106*b*, II. 103 —तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'षोडशाङ्गुलकं . . . . तावदन्तर'मिति। तथा 'मण्डले मण्डले . . . कारिणः'। . . . तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'करौ . . . वेष्टयेत्'।

p. 596 = II. 104*a* —'त्वमग्रे सर्वभूताना'मिति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तं मन्त्रं ब्रूयादित्यर्थः।

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Div.T.	Yāj.	
p. 597	= II. 104	——अनेन याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेनाभिमन्त्रयेत्। 'त्वमग्ने सर्वभूतानाम् ....करे मम'। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 596 of Div.T.)
,,	= II. 105	——तदनन्तरं याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'तस्येत्युक्तवतो...उभयोरपि'।
,,	= II. 106*a*	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'स तमादाय....शनैर्व्रजेत्'।
,,	= II. 107*b*	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अन्तरा.....पुनर्हरेत्'।
p. 598	= II. 107*a*	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'मुक्त्वाग्निं....शुद्धिमाप्नुयात्'।
p. 599	= II. 104	——अभिमन्त्रयेदनेन मन्त्रेण 'त्वमग्ने....करे मम'। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 597 of Div.T. and partly the same as the quot. on p. 596 of Div.T.)
pp. 600-601	= II. 108	——शोध्य....याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'सत्येन....गृहीत्वोरुजलं विशेत्'।
pp. 603-4	= II. 110*a*–111*a*	——शोध्यपाठ्यमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'विष त्वं...परीक्षयेत्'। (Yāj. omits the last 6 lines.)
p. 605	= II. 95*b* and 113*a*	——'महाभियोगेष्वेतानी'ति प्रस्तुत्य 'चतुर्दशकादह्न' इति याज्ञवल्क्याभिधानात्। (Yāj. reads अर्वाक्चतुर्दशादह्नो for the second quot.)
p. 608	= II. 104	——'त्वमग्ने....करे मम' इत्यनेनाभिमन्त्र्य। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 597 and as the quot. on p. 599 and partly the same as the quot. on p. 596 of Div. T.)
p. 609	= II. 104	——शोध्यस्तु 'त्वमग्ने...करे मम' इत्यनेनाभिमन्त्र्य। (The same as the quot. on p. 608 of Div.T.)

15. Śudrakṛtyavicāraṇatattva

S.K.T.	Yāj.	
p. 635	= I. 120-1	——पञ्चयज्ञेऽपि 'शूद्रस्य....पञ्चयज्ञान्न हापयेत्' इति नमस्कारमात्रविधानात्। (The same as the quot. on pp. 352 and 365 of A.T., combined together.)
,,	= I. 12*b*	——'चूडा कार्य्या यथाकुलम् इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनाच्च।
,,	= I. 21	——तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'हृत्कण्ठं...स्पृष्टाभिरन्ततः'।
pp. 635-6	= I. 18*b* (with Mit.)	——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'प्राग्वा.....नित्यमुपस्पृशेत्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 469 of P.T. and part of the 1st quot. on p. 334 of A.T.)

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1. Tithitattva

T.T. Nār.	
p. 29 =	—यथा नारदः। 'द्वितीयै.....तिथीस्त्विमाः'।
p. 68 = 6/10	—तथा च...नारदः। 'ऋत्विक् च....प्रीतिपूर्वकम्'।
p. 104 =	—वैष्णवस्य...नारदः। 'नित्यं.....रुभयोरपि'।
p. 122 =	—नारदः। 'दिवाभागे...सत्यवता सह'।
p. 160 =	—तथा च नारदः। 'अयने...युगादिषु'।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Nār.	
p. 353 = 10/6-7, 4/43	—नारदः। 'परेण निहितं.....अनिवेदयन्'। नारदः। 'धनमूलाः....विधिक्रमात्'।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Nār.	
p. 470 =	—यथा नारदः। 'स्त्रिया.....चोभयोः'।
p. 514 =	—प्रकाशक्रये....नारदबृहस्पती। 'वणिग्वीथी...परम्'।
p. 515 = 12/2-3	—अत्र विशेषयति नारदः। 'क्रीत्वा....क्रेतुरेव तत्'।
,, = 11/6	—नारदः। 'उपहन्येत....ऽप्रयच्छतः'।
p. 519 =	—नारदेन च 'देव...मुत्तमम्' इत्युक्तम्।
p. 532 = 16/5, 16/37	—अथ 'विभृयाद्वेच्छतः....कुले स्थितिः' इति नारदोक्तैक-गृहिरूपतया....'भ्रातृणाम्...पृथक् पृथक्' इति नारदवचनेन च।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Nār.	
pp. 745-6 = 16/33-34	—संस्कारक्रमनियममाह नारदः। 'येषान्तु न....पूर्व-संस्कृतैः'।

5. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. Nār.	
p. 893 = 15/20-21	—तथा च नारदः। 'पिता दद्यात्.....सनाभयः'।
p. 912 = 16/33-34	—तथा च नारदः। 'येषान्तु न.....पूर्वसंस्कृतैः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 745-6 of M.T.)

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6. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Nār.

p. 110 = 15/7 ——बन्धुनिषेधे नारदः । 'आसप्तमात्. . . . शूद्रतां गताः' ।

p. 111 = ——'पञ्चमात्. . . . . विधिः' इति हरिनाथोपाध्यायधृतनारदवचने ।

p. 117 = 15/7*a* ——'आसप्तमात्. . . पितृमातृतः' इति नारदवचने ।
(Part of the quot. on p. 110 of U.T.)

p. 126 = 4/40 ——तदाह नारदः । 'स्वतन्त्रोऽपि. . . . . हेतुतः' ।

p. 127 = 15/20-21 ——यथा नारदः । 'पिता दद्यात्. . . . . स्वजातयः' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 893 of Sm.T.)

p. 128 = 15/29 ——अत्र विशेषमाह नारदः । 'ब्राह्मादिषु. . . . त्रिषु' ।

„ = 15/35 ——नारदः । 'प्रतिगृह्य. . . . चोद्वहेत्' ।

pp. 136-7 = 6/10 ——स्वयं. . . माह विवादचिन्तामणौ नारदः । 'ऋत्विक् च . . . . प्रीतिपूर्वकम्' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 68 of T.T.)

p. 150 = 8/28*a* ——वडवादासमाह नारदः । 'भक्त. . . . वडवाकृतः' ।

7. Dāyatattva

D.T. Nār.

p. 161 = 16/1 ——तत्र नारदः । 'विभागोऽर्थस्य. . . . बुधैः' ।

p. 162 = cf. 16/3*b* ——अतएव विभागं प्रक्रम्य नारदः । 'विनष्टे. . . . स्पृहे' ।

p. 164 = 16/37 ——तथा च नारदः । 'भ्रातॄणाम्. . . . पृथक् पृथक्' ।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 532 of P.T.)

p. 165 = 16/16 ——उक्तकारणशून्ये तु नारदः । 'व्याधितः. . . . पिता प्रभुः' ।

p. 167 = 16/12 ——'द्वावंशौ. . . . मृते पतौ' इति नारदवचने पितुर्द्वयंशित्वात् ।

p. 169 = 16/32 ——नारदः । 'यदिष्टं. . . . . यथा पिता' ।

p. 170 = 16/5 ——नारदः । 'विभृयाद्वेच्छतः. . . . कुले स्थितिः' ।
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 532 of P.T.)

„ = 16/35 ——अतएव अविशेषान्नारदः । 'कुटुम्बार्थेषु. . . वाहनैः' ।

p. 171 = 16/33-34 ——नारदः । 'येषान्तु न. . . . . पूर्वसंस्कृतैः' ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 745-6 and p. 912 of M.T. and Sm.T. respectively.)

p. 172 = 16/21 ——नारदः । 'पितृद्विट्. . . . . कुतः' ।

p. 174 = 16/10 ——नारदः । 'कुटुम्बं. . . . लभेताश्रुतोऽपि सन्' ।

p. 177 = ——अतएव नारदः । 'स्वभागान्. . . . स्वधनस्य वै' ।

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D.T. Nār.

p. 179 = —नारदः। 'दानग्रहण....प्यन्तरेण तान्'।

p. 180 = 4/91 —नारदः। 'अन्यायेनापि...त्रिपुरुषागतम्'।

p. 182 = 15/28 —'सकृदंशो...सतां सकृत्' इति मनुनारद...वचनेऽपि।

p. 184 = 4/28 —नारदः। 'भर्त्रा...स्थावरादृते'।

p. 191 = 16/25-26 —तदन्यस्या...मात्रमाह नारदः। 'भ्रातृगामप्रजः....रितरासु च'।...'ततो दायम्....सहवासिनः'।
(Nār. omits the second group of verses.)

p. 197 = 6/10*b* —'यदृच्छयापि यः कुर्य्यादार्त्विज्यं प्रीतिपूर्वकम्' इति नारदवचने।
(Part of the quot. on p. 68 and pp. 136-7 of T.T. and U.T. respectively.)

8. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. Nār.

p. 199 = 3/2, 1/40 —अतएव नारदः। 'अनियुक्तो...जीवति'।...इत्याह स एव। 'धर्मशास्त्र...हीयते'।

p. 200 = 3/12-13 —मनुनारद...। 'पादो....निन्दयते'।...अर्थित्वमाहतुर्व्यासनारदौ। 'यस्य....निवेदयेत्'।
(Nār. omits the 2nd group of verses.)

,, = 2/22 —स्वयं....नारदः। 'अर्थिना....पराजयौ'।

p. 201 = 2/23, 1/52–54 —भ्रातादीतरस्य...नारदः। 'यो न भ्राता...विब्रुवन्'।....नारदः। 'निर्वेष्टुकामो....चैतान्नाह्वयेन्नृपः'।

,, = 2/24 —नारदोऽपि। 'पूर्ववादं...स वै नरः'।....स एव। 'कुर्य्यात्....साहसेषु च'।
(Nār. omits the 2nd quot.)

p. 202 = 18/9 —यत्तु 'पूर्वमाक्षारयेद्.....गुरुः' इति नारदवचनम्....स एव। 'पारुष्ये....समस्तयोः'।
(Nār. omits the 2nd quot.)

p. 205 = —नारदः। 'भूतं.....ऽप्यर्थान्न हीयते'।

,, = 1/44 —नारदः। 'गहनत्वाद्....तत्त्ववुभुक्षया'।

pp. 205-6 = 2/33 —'अन्यवादी.....तत्क्षणात्' इति नारदोक्तेः।
(Nār. omits the 2nd verse.)

p. 206 = —उत्तरस्वरूपं.....नारदः। 'पक्षस्य....व्यवहारतः'।

p. 207 = 2/5 —मिथ्योत्तरभेदमाह पुनर्व्यासनारदौ। 'मिथ्यै..चतुर्विधम्'।

p. 208 = 4/164 —तथा च नारदः। 'आधर्य्यं.....प्रतिवादिनः'।

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Vy.T.	Nār.
pp. 211-2 =	——अस्योत्तरसंज्ञामाह नारदः। 'साक्षिणामपि...साक्ष्युत्तरसंज्ञकः'।
p. 212 =	——स गूढसाक्षीत्याह स एव। 'अर्थिना.....स उच्यते'।
" = 4/190	——तत्र नारदः। 'तेषामपि.....कार्य्यमन्यथा'।
p. 213 = 4/192	——तदाह नारदः। 'उभयानुमतो...स संसदि'।
" = 4/159	——तथा च नारदः। 'स्तेनाः.....न विद्यते'।
pp. 213-4 = 17/2	——साहसमाह नारदः। 'मनुष्यमारणं...पञ्चधा स्मृतम्'। (Diff. reading in Nār.)
p. 214 = 4/158	——श्रोत्रिया....नारदः। 'श्रोत्रियास्तापसा....हेतुरुदाहृतः'।
p. 215 = 4/211	——'अश्वमेधसहस्रन्तु....रिच्यते' इति मनुनारदोक्तं श्रावयेत्।
p. 216 =	——अनवस्था....नारदः। 'सभासदां...दोषवर्जनात्'।
p. 219 = 4/167	——नारदः। 'सुदीर्घेणापि....लेखयेत्'।
p. 220 = 4/227-8	——नारदः। 'यः परार्थे.....सर्वस्तेयकृन्नरः'। (Diff. read. in Nār.)
pp. 220-21 = 4/135, 138, 140, 142, 146, 144	——नारदः। 'लेख्यं...तत्सम्बन्धागमहेतुभिः'।
p. 222 =	——तथा च मनुनारदौ। 'यत्किञ्चिद्दशवर्षाणि...तल्लब्धुमर्हति'।
p. 223 = 4/35b	——तदाह नारदः। 'बाल....शब्द्यते'।
" =	——तत्रोपेक्षया...नारदः। 'भुज्यमानान्....वशे'।
p. 224 =	——'वासनस्थ...यद्विधीयते' इति नारदोक्तः।
" = 4/77	——तथा च नारदः। 'विद्यमानेऽपि...तत् स्थिरम्' इति दीपकलिका।
p. 225 =	——तथा च नारदः। 'अथारूढ.....निवर्तयेत्'।...तथा च स एव। 'आदौ.....सागमा' इति।
p. 226 = 4/91, 4/87, 1/39	——अतएव नारदः। 'अन्यायेन तु...त्रिपुरुषागतम्'।.... (The same as the quot. on p. 180 of D.T.) यत्तु 'अनागमस्तु....पृथिवीपतिः' इति तस्य वचनं... तदाह स एव। 'यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः....धर्मशास्त्रार्थमाचरेत्'।

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Vy.T: Nār.	
p. 226 =	—'स्त्रीधनञ्च . . . . वर्षशतैरपि' इति स्वत्वनिषेधक-वचनान्तरैकवाक्यत्वात् ।
p. 227 = 4/173–175	—नारदः । 'उल्काहस्तो . . . परीक्षणम्' ।
,, =	—नारदः । 'अभीक्ष्णं . . . . तमावहेत्' ।
,, =	—नारदः । 'युक्तिष्वप्यवसन्नासु . . . सुकृतैर्दिभिः' ।
p. 228 = 4/241(= 2/30)	—दैव . . . . नारदः । 'अरण्ये . . . . . क्रिया' ।
,, =	—उभयेच्छया नारदः । 'अभियोक्ता . . . वर्तयेच्छिरः' ।
p. 229 =	—तत्र नारदः । 'यस्योचुः . . . . शास्त्रमार्गतः' ।
p. 231 = cf. 1/65 for the 1st. quot.	—तत्र पुनर्न्यायदर्शनमाह नारदः । 'तीरितं . . . पुनरुद्धरेत्' । . . . स एव । 'असाक्षिकन्तु . . . पुनर्दर्शनमर्हति' ।
p. 232 = 4/40-41, 29-30	—तथा च नारदः । 'स्वतन्त्रोऽपि . . . तौ समौ' ।
,, = 4/31*b*, 33–37	—तथा च नारदः । 'स्वातन्त्र्यन्तु . . . . पूर्वजः' ।

9. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Nār.	
p. 277 =	—राघवभट्टधृतनारदवचनम् । 'अथ सूतिकिनः . . पूर्ववदाचरेत्' ।
p. 281 = 16/19-20	—अत्र . . . . नारदः । 'जाता ये . . . . . वोढुरेव ते' ।
p. 336 = 8/16	—अन्तेवासिनमाह नारदः । 'सं(स्व?)शिल्प . . . . सुनिश्चितम्' ।
p. 347 = 7/1	—तथा च नारदः । 'दत्त्वा दानं . . . . हि तत्' । (Diff. reading in Nār.)
pp. 351-2 = cf. 4/45–47	—द्रव्याणा(म)पि तत्तद्भेदमाह नारदः । 'पार्श्विकं . . . कृच्छ्रं समुदाहृतम्' . . . . . 'कुशीद . . . . . राजसं समुदाहृतम्' . . . . . 'श्रुत . . . . शुद्धं मुनिभिः समुदाहृतम्' ।
pp. 353-4 = 16/39	—विशेषयति नारदः । 'साक्षित्वं . . . . हि सः' । (Nār. omits the 2nd verse.)
p. 357 = 7/9*a* and 10	—तथा च नारदः । 'अदत्तन्तु . . . . च यत्' ।
p. 358 =	—नारदः । 'काकिणी . . . . . पणस्य च' ।
p. 385 = 16/21	—'पितृद्विट् . . . . . कुतः' इति नारदोक्तानाञ्च । (The same as the quot. on p. 172 of D.T.)

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10. Divyatattva

Div.T. Nār.

p. 575 = ——अतएव नारदः। 'युक्ति....मर्दयेत्'।
(Part of the 3rd quot. on p. 227 of Vy.T.)

" = 4/248, 250*a* ——शपथानाह नारदः। 'सत्यं....स्वल्पकारणात्'।

p. 576 = ——तथा च नारदः। 'राजभिः.....शिरो विना'।

" = 4/259 ——नारदः। 'न शीते....तुलां नृप'।

p. 577 = cf. 4/334*b*–335*b*, 4/256 ——तत्र नारदः। 'ब्राह्मणस्य....तुला स्मृता'। यत् पुनरनेन 'सव्रतानां.....धर्मस्त्वपेक्षितः' इति।

p. 580 = ——यथा नारदः। 'तत्र सत्ये....प्रयोजयेत्'।

p. 583 = 4/271 ——नारदः। 'शिक्यद्वयं.....तुलयेच्छिलाम्'।

p. 585 = ——रक्तपुष्पगन्धादीनाह नारदः। 'रक्तैर्गन्धैश्च...पूजयेत्'। ....तथा च विष्णुनारदौ। 'धर्मपर्य्यायवचनं धट इत्यभिधीयते'।

pp. 588-9 = 4/301, 4/268 ——क्षतिनं प्रति याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिकायां नारदः। 'हस्तक्षतेषु....विन्दुविचित्रितौ'।....नारदः। 'अहोरात्रोषिते....कीर्तितम्'।

p. 590 = ——पत्रस्थ.....श्रवणमाह नारदः। 'अमुमर्थञ्च.... यथाक्रमम्'।

p. 595 = 4/301 ——तदाह नारदः। 'हस्तक्षतेषु....विन्दुविचित्रितौ'।
(The same as the 1st quot. on pp. 588-9 of Div.T.)

" = ——सूत्रं विशेषयति नारदः। 'वेष्टयीत...सूत्रतन्तुभिः'।

pp. 595-6 = 4/288*a*–290*a* ——तथा 'जात्यैव.....सत्यपुरस्कृतम्'।

p. 598 = 4/302*b* ——नारदः। 'ब्रीहिमति....मर्दयेत्'।

p. 599 = ——यथा नारदः। 'गन्धमाल्यैः....समाहितः'।

p. 600 = 4/307 ——नारदः। 'क्रूरं.....धनुर्विधिः'।

" = cf. 4/305-6 ——नारदः। 'नदीषु.....निमज्जनम्'।

p. 601 = 4/309*a*–310*a* ——यथा नारदः। 'गत्वा तु...समे शुचौ'। शरमोक्षे विशेषमाहतुर्नारदबृहस्पती। 'शरप्रक्षेपणस्थानाद्...निवेशयेत्'। जविनौ विशेषयति नारदः। 'पञ्चाशतो.....शरानयनकर्मणि'।....'शिरोमात्रन्तु.....निर्दिशेत्'। इति.....'निमज्ज्योत्प्लवते....विचारितः'।

p. 603 = 4/322*a*, cf.5/ 324 ——नारदः। 'शार्ङ्गं.....समाहितः'।

pp. 604-5 = 4/328, 4/332 ——नारदः। 'पूर्वाह्णे.....व्यतिक्रमात्'।

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(*d*) *Parāśarasmṛti with the com. of Mādhavācārya*

1. Tithitattva

T.T.	Par.	
p. 26 =		—तथा च पराशरः। 'त्रिसन्ध्यव्यापिनी...हरिवासरात्'।
p. 49 =		—पराशरः। 'त्रिसन्ध्यव्यापिनी.....हरिवासरात्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 26 of T.T.)
p. 51 =		—तथा च माधवाचार्य्यधृतपराशरवचनम्। 'दिवा वा...संयुतान्'।
pp. 159-60 =	p. 149 (vol. I) (com. portion)	—पराशरभाष्ये कूर्मपुराणञ्च। 'अनध्यायस्तु...वर्जयेत्'।
p. 168 =		—अतएव पराशरः। 'दिवाकरकरैः.....राहोरन्यत्र दर्शनात्'।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T.	Par.	
p. 333 =	p. 220 (vol. I) (com. portion)	—यथा वृद्धपराशरः। 'कृत्वाथ.....कायसंयतः'।
p. 340 =		—अत्र हेतुमाह पराशरः। 'प्रभासादीनि...मनुरब्रवीत्'।
p. 343 =	p. 235 (vol. I) (com. portion)	—पराशरभाष्ये वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'इष्टका...दन्तधावनम्'।
p. 379 =		—पराशरः। 'स्नात्वा.....च्युतवारिणा'।
p. 433 =		—पराशरभाष्ये वृद्धमनुः। 'न पिबेन्न.....पिबेत्'।
p. 453 =		—प्रविष्टेऽपि.....पराशरः। 'तावद्भवति.....तद्धविरुच्यते'।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T.	Par.	
p. 481 =		—ग्राससंख्या पराशरेणोक्ता। 'सायं...परञ्चानशनं स्मृतम्'।
p. 513 =	9/26 (vol. II)	—तथा च पराशरः। 'प्रमापणे.....दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः'।
p. 516 =	9/54*b*-55*a* (vol. II)	—'वपनं चैव नारीणां.....मुण्डनं स्मृतम्'। पराशरस्यैतदिति मिताक्षरा। (Par. omits the first two lines.)
p. 527 =	cf. 9/3*b*-4*a* (vol. II)	—अत्र प्राजापत्यस्य पादादित्वे...पराशरवचनम्। 'रोधने.....निपातने'।

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Par.

I.T. pp. 528-9 = ——तत्र पराशरः। 'शीतानिलहता.....दद्याद्विप्राय दक्षिणाम्'।

p. 534 = ——पराशरः। 'धुर्य्येषु वहमानेषु...प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते'।

p. 542 = 11/20 (vol. II) ——यथा पराशरः। 'आपत्काले तु....शतं जपेत्'।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Par.

p. 831 = ——पराशरः। 'प्रयाणे....पाणिग्रहं ग्रहे'।

5. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Par.

p. 127 = cf. p. 483 (vol. I) (com. portion) ——'तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां कन्यां दद्युः स्वजातयः' (= Nār. 15/21*b*)। इत्यर्द्धमधिकं पराशरभाष्ये माधवाचार्य्येण लिखितम्।

6. Dāyatattva

D.T. Par.

p. 191 = ——तत्र कन्योढयोस्तु 'अपुत्रस्य...चोढा' इति पराशरवचनात् क्रमः।

7. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Par.

p. 263 = 3/19*b*-20*a* (vol. I) ——पराशरः। 'सम्पर्कान्दु(द्दु?)ष्यते...नैव सूतकम्'।

pp. 273-4 = pp. 123–7 (vol. I) (com. portion) ——वस्तुतस्तु...पराशरधृतादित्यपुराणेन...कलौ निरस्तः। 'कन्याना...द्विजातिभिः'। तथा। 'वृत्त...दूरतः'। तथा। 'ब्राह्मणादिषु...वृद्धादिमरणन्तथा'। इत्यादीन्यभिधाय 'एतानि....व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः'।

p. 286 = 1/27 (vol. I) ——अथ विप्रतिरस्कारादिफलपरिपाककालमाह पराशरः। 'कृते ...संवत्सरेण तु'।
(Diff. reading in Par.)

p. 288 = 3/29*b*-30*a* (vol. I) ——पराशरः। 'ब्राह्मणार्थं विपन्नानां...मेकरात्रमशौचकम्'।
(Diff. reading in Par.)

p. 290 = cf. p. 616 (vol. I) (com. portion) ——पराशरः। 'दीक्षितेष्वभिषिक्तेषु...नाशौचं मृतसूतके'।
(The com. quotes it as a text of Bṛddhaparāśara.)

p. 291 = ——तथा च पराशरः। 'उपसर्गमृते चैव सद्यःशौचं विधीयते'।

p. 299 = ——अतएव पराशरः। 'ता(व)द्भवति शूद्रान्नं.....तद्धविरुच्यते'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 453 of A.T.)

p. 379 = ——माधवाचार्य्यः। 'वेदाकाङ्क्षा....न तादृशः'।

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8. Vāstuyāgatattva

V.Y.T. Par.

p. 415 = —पराशरः। 'प्रयाणे . . . पाणिग्रहं ग्रहे'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 831 of M.T.)

(e) *Yogi-yājñavalkyasmṛti*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Yogi-yāj.

p. 17 = 7/34 —किन्तु तद्वैगुण्यसमाधानार्थं विष्णुस्मरणमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अज्ञानात् . . . . . स्यादिति श्रुतिः'।
(Diff. reading in Yogi-yāj.)

p. 21 = 7/33*a* and 35 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'ध्यायेन्नारायणं नित्यं . . . . . संस्मरणाय वै'।

p. 175 = 2/152*b* and 153 —वैदिकप्रयोगमात्रे प्रणवादित्वमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'यन्न्यून . . . . . सर्वञ्चाविकलं भवेत्'।
(Diff. reading in Yogi-yāj.)

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Yogi-yāj.

pp. 197-8 = 7/33–35 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'ध्यायेन्नारायणं . . . संस्मरणाय वै'।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 21 of T.T.)

p. 206 = 4/26 —तं विशेषयति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'प्रणवं . . . . ह्येष उदाहृतः'।

p. 248 = 7/34-35 —ततः साङ्गतार्थं विष्णुं स्मरेत्। 'प्रमादात् . . . संस्मरणाय वै'।
(Part of the quot. on pp. 197-8 of Sr.T.)

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Yogi-yāj.

p. 358 = 7/162–66 and 6/27-28 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'असामर्थ्याच्छरीरस्य . . . . फलं स्मृतम्'।
. . . . एवञ्च 'कालदोषादसामर्थ्यात् . . . मन्त्रस्नानमुदाहृतम्' इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यीयम्।
(Diff. reading in Yogi-yāj.)

p. 363 = —तथा च योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'परिधानाद्बहिः . . . . भवेत्'।

p. 364 = 7/38-9 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'स्नात्वैवं . . . . निष्फलम्'।
(Yogi-yāj. omits the last two lines.)

p. 367 = 7/110 and 128 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अनुद्धृत्य . . . . कर्मणः'।

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A.T. Yogi-yāj.

p. 376 = 7/73 ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'यद्युद्धृत('निधि)ञ्चेत्तु..... विचक्षणैः'।

p. 379 = 7/41 and 46*a* ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'निष्पीडयति.....सहर्षिभिः'। तथा। 'अन्न....पीडितम्'।

" = 7/44 ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'वस्त्र.....स्थले'।

p. 380 = 6/19 and 20*a* ——सन्ध्यात्रयसाधारणलक्षणमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'त्रयाणाञ्चैव...प्रकीर्तिता'। (Diff. reading in Yogi-yāj.)

p. 381 = 6/11 ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'ह्रासवृद्धी....समा स्मृता'।

p. 382 = 6/10 ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्योऽपि। 'या सन्ध्या...उपासितः'।

pp. 382-3 = 9/30-31 and 37 ——उपासनायाः फलमाह स एव। 'गवां सर्पिः.... प्रतिष्ठितः'।

p. 383 = 2/44 and 3/9 ——तदाह स एव। 'वाच्यः स....व्याहृतयः स्मृताः'।

" = 9/42*a*–44*a* and 56*b*–58*b* ——गायत्र्यर्थमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'देवस्य....ज्ञापयत्येवमेव हि'।

p. 385 = 4/8*a* ——'षोडशारक्षकं देव्या गायत्र्यास्तु शिरः स्मृतम्' इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यविरोधात्।

" = 8/4-5, 6*b*–10*a* and 22 ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'भूर्भुवः....रेचकः'।

" = 1/27*a*–28*b* ——अत्र ऋष्यादिज्ञानफलमाह स एव। 'आर्षं छन्दश्च.... ...चाल्पफलं भवेत्'।

p. 386 = 6/5-6 ——सन्ध्योपासनप्रकारमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'प्रणवो व्याहृतीः ....ब्रह्मणस्तन्मुखं स्मृतम्'। (Diff. reading in Yogi-yāj.)

" = 8/46 ——तदाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'प्राणस्यायमनं...तस्मादाचमनं स्मृतम्'।

p. 387 = 1/42, 7/172*a*-73*a*, 7/173*b* and 175*a* ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'पुरा कल्पे.....स उच्यते'। इति सामान्यतोऽभिधायापि 'अधमर्षणसूक्तस्य..... प्रकीर्तितः'।....अतएव तेनैव तदुक्तम्। 'सर्वपापापनोदार्थं.....पठेदघमर्षणम्'।

p. 389 = 4/4*b* ——गायत्र्या ऋष्यादिकमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'विश्वामित्र ...जप उच्यते'।

" = 4/29*a* ——यजुर्वेदिनान्तु योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'आवाह्य यजुषानेन तेजोऽसीति विधानतः'।

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A.T. Yogi-Yāj.

pp. 389-90 = 4/30*a* —तथा च योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'तामावाह्य जपित्वा च नमस्कृत्य विसर्जयेत्'।

p. 390 = —तत्र तेनैवोक्तमन्त्रो यथा। 'उत्तरे....यथासुखम्'।

" = 6/17 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'पूर्वा सन्ध्या.....सरस्वती'।

p. 391 = 7/131-2 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'न चंक्रमन्....समाहितः'। (Yogi-yāj. omits the last two verses.)

" = 7/148 —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'यदि वाग्यमलोपः....विष्णुमव्ययम्'।

p. 393 = —यजुर्विच्च 'उत्तरे....यथासुखम्' इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्योक्तेन विसृजेत्। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 390 of A.T.)

p. 396 = 7/57*b*-58*a* —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'दर्भेषु....ब्रह्मयज्ञार्थमाचरेत्'।

p. 398 = 7/94*b*-95*a* —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'स्नात्वा...निवेदयेत्'। (Yogi-yāj. reads the first 2 lines otherwise and omits the last 3 lines, which are ascribed by Raghunandana to the Brahma-purāṇa on p. 409 of A.T., below.)

p. 409 = 7/94*b*-95*a* —आग्नेये...'ध्यात्वा प्रणवपूर्वन्तु तन्नाम्ना...पृथक् पृथक्'। 'ध्यात्वे'त्यत्र 'स्नात्वे'ति, 'तन्नाम्ना' इत्यत्र 'दैवत'मिति योगियाज्ञवल्क्ये पाठः। (But Yogi-yāj. reads ध्यात्वा itself and पुष्पाणि and not दैवतम् for तन्नाम्ना. The same as the quot. just above.)

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Yogi-yāj.

p. 476 = —तथा च कल्पतरौ योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'श्रद्धाविधिसमायुक्तं....तदानन्त्याय कल्पते'।

p. 476 = 1/27*a*–28*b* —अङ्गाप्रकर्षे....फलाल्पत्वमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'आर्षं छन्दश्च....ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः'।....'अविदित्वा तु....चाल्पफलं भवेत्'। (The same as the third quot. on p. 385 of A.T.)

p. 478 = —यत्तु योगियाज्ञवल्क्यवचनम्। 'विधिहीनं....दुष्कृतात्मनः' इति तत् पूर्वोक्त-'श्रद्धाविधिसमायुक्त'मित्यस्य प्रशंसार्थम्।

pp. 500-1 = —यथा 'तर्पणन्तु शुचिः कुर्य्यात् प्रत्यहं स्नातको द्विजः' इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्योक्तस्य।

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P.T. Yogi-yāj.
p. 502 = 7/158 ——अत्र 'ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशामेव . . . सनमस्कारकं मतम्' इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्योक्तस्याप्यवाधः ।

p. 506 = 7/154 ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः । 'अग्राह्या . . . . तीर्थाद्विनिःसृताः' ।

" = ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः । 'तूष्णीमेवावगाहेत . . . विधिवदाचरेत्' ।

5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Yogi-yāj.
pp. 11-2 = 7/33–35 ——वैदिके कर्ममात्रे नारायणस्मरणनमस्कारौ आह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः । 'ध्यायेन्नारायणं . . . . . संस्मरणाय वै' ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 197-8 of Sr.T.)

p. 14 = 2/152*b* and 153 ——व्यक्तमाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः । 'यन्न्यून . . . सर्वञ्चाविकलं भवेत्' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 175 of T.T.)

6. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. Yogi-yāj.
p. 562 = 7/34-35 ——'प्रमादात् . . . . . संस्मरणाय वै' इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यात् ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 248 of Sr.T. and part of the quot. on pp. 197-8 of Sr.T. and on pp. 11-2 of E.T.)

7. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. Yogi-yāj.
p. 632 = 7/33*a* and 35 ——योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः । 'ध्यायेन्नारायणं . . . . संस्मरणाय वै' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 21 of T.T. and part of the quot. on pp. 197-8 of Sr.T. and on pp. 11-2 of E.T.)

(*f*) *Agastyasaṃhitā*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Ag.S.
pp. 59–62 = chs. 26–28 (pp. 234–250) ——अथ श्रीरामनवमी । अगस्त्यसंहितायाम् । 'चैत्रे मासि . . . . दिवारात्रं नयेद्बुधः' ।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Ag.S.
p. 400 = ch. 13 (v. 46) (p. 102) ——यत्तु 'परारोपितवृक्षेभ्यः . . . . . तस्य तन्निष्फलं भवेत्' ।
(तत् द्विजेतरपरम् ।)

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3. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Ag.S.

p. 784 = ch. 17 (vv. 3–14)—अथ दीक्षाकालः। सा मलमासे न कार्य्या यथागस्त्य-संहितायाम्। 'यदा ददाति.....सर्वमनन्तफलं भवेत्'। ('न मासतिथि.....सेव्यतः'।)
(pp. 138–140) (The bracketed portion not found in Ag.S.)

4. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Ag.S.

p. 67 = ch. 13 (v. 46) —आगस्त्ये। 'परारोपितवृक्षेभ्यः....निष्फलं तस्य पूजनम्'। (एतत् द्विजेतरपरम्।)
(p. 102) (The same as the quotation on p. 400 of A.T.)

p. 94=ch. 16 (vv. 26–28)—अगस्त्यसंहितायाम्। 'दधि क्षीरं...हविष्यं मन्वते बुधाः'।
(p. 131)

5. Kṛtyatattva

K.T. Ag.S.

p. 449 = ch. 16 (vv. 27-28)—(हैमन्तिकमित्यभिधाय) अगस्त्यसंहितायाम्। 'नारिकेल-फलञ्चैव....हविष्यं मन्वते बुधाः'।
(p. 131) (Part of the quot. on p. 94 of E.T.)

pp. 464-5 = ch. 28 —अथ श्रीरामनवमी।....'कोमलाङ्गं...तालवृन्तकरा-वुभौ'। 'दशानन-वधार्थाय.....सहितो मम'।
(vv. 26-27, 38-39) (Part of the quot. on pp. 59–62 of T.T.)
(pp. 248 and 250)

6. Dīkṣātattva

Dik.T. Ag.S.

pp. 645–6 = ch. 17 —अगस्त्यसंहितायाम्। 'यदा ददाति...कर्म तदनन्तफलं भवेत्'।
(vv. 3–14) ('वारादिशोधनं.....वेगतः'।)
(pp. 138–140) (The bracketed portion not found in Ag.S. The same as the quot. on p. 784 of M.T. with some diff. readings.)

IV. The Purāṇas

(a) *The Mahā-purāṇas*

1a. Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa)

A.T. P.P. (Sr.K.)

pp. 359-60= 20. 145-157a—पद्मपुराणम्। 'नैर्मल्यं...प्रभवारिणि सुव्रते'।

pp. 372-73 = 20. 159-170a—तेन पद्मपुराणीयस्नाने तदुक्तमेव तर्पणम्। तद् यथा। 'ब्रह्माणं.....तर्पयेत्ततः'।

pp. 394-5 = 20. 170b–176—पद्मपुराणे। 'सम्पूज्य प्रणमेत्...व्रजेत्'।

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S.T. P.P. (Sr.K.)
p. 338 = 10. 13*b*-14*a* —स्पष्टमाह पद्मपुराणम्। 'सम्पूज्य द्विजदाम्पत्यं...ददेत्'।

1*b*. Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa)

T.T. P.P. (U.K.)
pp. 148-9 = 242. 29, 246. 19*b*–21*a* —पाद्मे। 'स्वर्गलोके...भास्करे'।...'आयुरारोग्य... न पश्यति'। यत्तु 'माघे मासि...पुनीमहे'। इति पद्मपुराणे.....अतएव 'यो माघमासस्युषसि..... नरोऽसौ'।...विधिमाह पाद्मे। 'माघमासमिमं.... माघस्नानं महाव्रतम्'।
(The last 7 verses not found in P.P.)

A.T. P.P. (U.K.)
p. 397 = 122. 35*b*-36*a* (= 245. 67) —पद्मपुराणम्। 'शालग्रामशिलारूपी....चतुर्दश'।

p. 456 = 122. 38*b* (= 245. 69*a*) —पद्मपुराणे। 'ये पिबन्ति....निगद्यते'।
(The 2nd line not found in P.P.)

J.T. P.P. (U.K.)
p. 673 = 88. 15*b*–18 —पद्मपुराणे। 'प्रतिपद्धनदस्योक्ता...चक्रपाणिनः'।... ...'त्रयोदशी...तिथिः स्मृता'।

S.T. P.P. (U.K.)
p. 363 = 245. 79 —पद्मपुराणम्। 'शालग्रामशिलाचक्रं.....सशैलवन-काननम्'।

2. Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa

A.T. B.N.P.
p. 398 = 14. 55 and 60 —वृहन्नारदीये। 'नमेद् यः शूद्र...शङ्करेऽपि वा'।

p. 453 = 14. 39-40, 54*a* and 55*b* —वृहन्नारदीये। 'यः शूद्रेण....रौरवे वसेत्'।

U.T. B.N.P.
p. 112 = 22. 13–16 —कलौ...माह वृहन्नारदीयम्। 'समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः.... कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः'।

S.T. B.N.P.
p. 236 = 7. 65 —कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवे वृहन्नारदीयम्। 'बालापत्याश्च....चितां शुभे'।

p. 312 = 24. 25 —वृहन्नारदीये। 'देवार्चाचमन...नैकवस्त्रधरस्तथा'।

D.P.T. B.N.P.
p. 505 = 14. 55 and 60 —वृहन्नारदीये। 'नमेद् यः शूद्र....संप्लवम्' तथा। 'स्त्रीणामनुपनीतानां...शङ्करेऽपि वा'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 398 of A.T.)

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3. Nāradīyapurāṇa

T.T. N.P.

pp. 87-88 = cf. II. 2. 14 —'आदित्योदयवेलाया.....ह्ययं विधिः' इति कालमाधवीयधृतनारदीयात्।

p. 101 = II. 22. 83*b*-84*a* —'वृथा विप्रवचो...ध्रुवम्' इति नारदीयात्।

p. 108 = II. 24. 7*a* —अशक्तं प्रति नारदीयम्। 'अनुकल्पो...वरवर्णिनि'।

p. 109 = II. 24. 7*b*-8*a* —उपवासनिषेधा....माह नारदीये। 'मूलं.....प्रकीर्तितम्'।

p. 120 = cf. II. 2. 14 —तथा च कालमाधवीये नारदीयम्। 'आदित्योदयवेलाया...ह्ययं विधिः'।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 87-88 of T.T. above.)

A.T. N.P.

p. 369 = I. 27. 66 —एवम् 'दिवोदितानि....कुर्य्यादतन्द्रितः' इति नारदीयात् परकालेऽपि कर्तव्यम्।

p. 450 = II. 22. 57*b*-58*a* —नारदीये। 'न मत्स्यं....मांसभक्षणात्'।

P.T. N.P.

p. 498 = II. 38. 38 and 40—नारदीये। 'किमष्टाङ्गेन....क्रतुशतैरपि'।
(The 3rd verse is not found in N.P.)

p. 543 = I. 30. 9*b*-10*a* —तथा च नारदीयम्। 'सम्यक्...संस्मरन् हरिम्'।

M.T. N.P.

p. 822 = II. 22. 23*b*-24 and 38*b*-39, II. 22. 57*b*-58*a*, II. 22. 76*b*, 82 and 83-84*a* —वर्षकृत्ये नारदीयम्। 'अव्रतेन....गतिम्'। गोविन्दमानसोल्लासे नारदीयम्। 'न मत्स्यं....दक्षिणाम्'। तथा। 'नित्यस्नाने....घृतशक्तवः'।....तथा। 'आमिषस्य...ध्रुवम्'।....तथा। 'निष्पावान्...संशयः'।
(The 3rd line of the 2nd quot., the 3rd quot., the 2nd line of the 4th quot. and the 5th quot. not found in N.P. Partly the same as the quot. on pp. 101 and 450 of T.T. and A.T. respectively.)

Sm.T. N.P.

p. 880 = II. 22. 83*b*-84*a* —'वृथा विप्रवचो....ध्रुवम्' इति नारदीयात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 101 of T.T.)

E.T. N.P.

p. 12 = II 22. 82*b* and 83-84*a* —तथा च गोविन्दमानसोल्लासे नारदीयम्। 'सर्वेषामप्यलाभेषु....ध्रुवम्'।
(Partly the same as the quot. on pp. 101 and 880 of T.T. and Sm.T. and part of the quot. on p. 822 of M.T.)

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E.T. N.P.

p. 28 = II. 1. 15*b* ——नारदीयम्। 'व्याजेनापि....सान्तकम्'।

p. 41 = cf. II. 2. 14 ——तथा च कालमाधवीये नारदीयम्। 'आदित्योदयवेलाया ....ह्ययं विधिः'।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 87-88 and p. 120 of T.T.)

p. 87 = II. 24. 7*a*–8*a* ——नारदीये। 'अनुकल्पो....प्रकीर्तितम्'।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 108 and 109 of T.T., combined together.)

p. 100 = II. 24. 6 ——अन्यथा 'पुरोडाशोऽपि...पुनश्चाशनक्रिया' इति नारदीयं विरुध्येत।

S.T. N.P.

p. 365 = I. 13. 98*a* ——नारदीये। 'गन्धदः....ब्रह्मणः पदम्'।

K.T. N.P.

p. 449 = II. 22. 57*b*-58*a* ——नारदीये। 'न मत्स्यं...मांसभक्षणात्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 450 of A.T. and part of the quot. on p. 822 of M.T.)

4. Agnipurāṇa

E.T. A.P.

p. 36 = 187. 2*a* ——हेमाद्रिधृताग्निपुराणवचनेन...यथा 'गृहस्थो....स्तथैव च। एकादश्यां....पक्षयोरुभयोरपि'।
(The 1st line is not found in A.P.)

U.T. A.P.

p. 142 = 209. 57*a* ——'अद्य....सुतीर्थके' इत्यग्निपुराणीयदाननिमित्तोल्लेखे।

5. Garuḍapurāṇa

T.T. G.P.

pp. 33-4 = I. 129. 25-26 ——गारुडेऽपि तत्रैव 'अनन्तं...दिवं व्रजेत्'।

p. 42 = I. 131. 3*a* ——'कृष्णाष्टम्यान्तु....हरेः' इति गारुडाद्वक्ष्यमाणवचनजाताच्च।

pp. 44-5 = I. 131. 11–15 and 17–20 ——गरुडभविष्योत्तरवचनानि राजमार्तण्डकृत्यचिन्तामणिधृतानि यथा 'तमेवोपवसेत्....रक्षिता'।
(The 1st and 7th verses and the first lines of the 8th, 10th and 11th verses are not found in G.P.)

pp. 58-9 = I. 133. 1-2 ——पुनर्वसुयोगे तु....लिङ्गगरुडपुराणयोः। 'अशोक....शोकमवाप्नुयुः'।....'त्वामशोक...सदा कुरु'।

p. 127 = I. 124. 13 ——'चतुर्दश्यां....भवेश्वर' इति गरुडपुराणीयं पठेत्।

pp. 127-8 = I. 124. 16*b*–19*a* ——तथा च गरुडपुराणम्। 'मूलमन्त्रं....संशयः'।

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Sr.T. G.P.

p. 206 = I. 221. 2 ––स्मरणफलं गारुडे । 'अपवित्रः. . . . शुचिः' ।

A.T. G.P.

p. 346 = I. 110. 24 ––गारुडे । 'धनप्रयोगे. . . . सदा भवेत्' ।

p. 347 = I. 217. 78-79 (= I. 98. 14 and 16) ––गारुडे । 'वेदार्थं. . . . . द्विगुणीकृतम्' ।

p. 349 = I. 217. 83 ––गारुडे । 'स जीवति. . . . स्वोदरम्भराः' ।

p. 351 = I. 110. 1 ––गारुडे । 'यो ध्रुवाणि. . . नष्टमेव च' ।

p. 429 = I. 68. 8–10 ––रत्नान्याह गरुडपुराणम् । 'तेषु रक्षो. . . तज्ज्ञैः' ।

p. 430 = I. 217. 153 ––गारुडे । 'शाकं. . . . प्रसज्येत कदाचन' ।

p. 439 = I. 172. 18-19*a*, 20*a* and 21*b* ––गारुडे । 'कटुतिक्तकषायाश्च. . . कटूद्दीपनपाचनः' ।

p. 440 = I. 173. 62, 56*b*, 63 and 5 ––गारुडे । 'बृंहणाः. . . मेदमांसकफप्रदः' । (The 6th and 8th lines are not found in G.P.)

pp. 440-1 = I. 173. 8*a* ––गारुडे । 'मसूरो. . . . संवत्सरोषितम्' । (The other 8 lines are not found in G.P.)

M.T. G.P.

p. 752 = I. 217. 127 ––माघाधिकारे गारुडे । 'मातरं. . . . लभेत सः' ।

K.T. G.P.

p. 437 = I. 129. 25-26 ––गारुडे । 'अनन्तं. . . . . दिवं व्रजेत्' । (The same as the quot. on pp. 33-34 of T.T.)

6. Brahmapurāṇa

Sr.T. B.P.

pp. 215–6 = 220. 139 ––ब्रह्मपुराणे. . . . . दद्यादित्युपक्रम्याह । 'केतकीं. . . . . पितरो गताः' ।

A.T. B.P.

p. 404 = 29. 55-56 ––ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'वलिं कृत्वा. . . . . त्यजेत्' ।

S.P.T. B.P.

p. 563 = 27. 2*a* and 11*b*, 28.1-2*a* ––तत्र ब्रह्मपुराणम् । 'पृथिव्यां. . . मण्डलम्' ।

p. 564 = 42. 1-2, 4-5 and 9-10; 46. 4; 70. 3-4*a* ––ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'आस्ते. . . न विद्यते' ।

pp. 564–7 = 57. 2–42 (except 11*b* and 31) ––ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'चक्रं. . . प्रणम्य च' ।

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S.P.T.	B.P.	
p. 567 = 57. 57		—ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'ततः पूज्य . . . कृताञ्जलिः' ।
pp. 569-70 = 60. 47; 61. 1–3 and 57; 62. 1-2		—ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'कृत्वा . . . अच्युतप्रिय' ।
pp. 570-1 = 62. 3*b*–5*a*, 6*b* and 12*b*-13*a*; 62. 23; 63. 1–5, 13-14 and 8-9		—ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'तीर्थे . . . . विनिवर्तते' ।
p. 571 = 60. 11		—ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'मार्कण्डेया . . . . विधिः स्मृतः' ।
pp. 571-2 = 63. 17–21; 65. 3 and 57; 65. 83*a*; 66. 1-2; 70. 5-6*a*; 64. 18		—ब्रह्मपुराणे । 'उत्तरे . . . . कुलम्' ।
pp. 572-3=68. 75–77 (cf.), 41. 10*b*-11, 53*b*, 56-57*a*, 59*b*–61*a*, 63*b*-64*a*, 67, 89*b*-90, 28, 64*b*-*c*, 43-44 and 48*b*		—ब्रह्मपुराणे । '. . . . देहं . . . . प्राप्नोति मानवः' ।

7. Skandapurāṇa

T.T.	S.P.	
p. 29 = II. II. 29, 33*b*-34 and 33*a*		—स्कन्दपुराणे । 'आषाढस्य . . . प्रीतये मम' ।
p. 31 = II. II. 29. 50		—स्कन्दपुराणम् । 'वैशाखस्य . . . शोभितम्' ।

7*a*. S.P.—Kāśīkhaṇḍa

A.T.	S.P. (K.K.)	
pp. 370-1 = IV. I. 4. 80		—विधवामधिकृत्य काशीखण्डम् । 'तर्पणं . . . पूर्वकम्' ।
pp. 422-3 = IV. I. 35. 199*b*-200 and 201*b*–203*a*		—तथा च स्कन्दपुराणे काशीखण्डम् । 'भूराद्या . . . . . र्पयेत्' ।
p. 427 = IV. I. 35. 216*b*-217*a*		—एवं 'नित्यश्राद्ध . . . व्रतोज्झितम्' इति काशीखण्डवचनं दक्षिणानिषेधकम् ।

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A.T. S.P.(K.K.)
p. 434 = IV. I. 35. 223-224*a* and 225*a* ——काशीखण्डम् । 'दर्भपाणिस्तु . . . केवलामृतम्' ।

M.T. S.P. (K.K.)
p. 745 = IV. I. 35. 157 ——यत्तु काशीखण्डम् । 'विधिनापि . . . मैथुनं यथा' इति तदकृतप्रायश्चित्तपरम् ।

E.T. S.P. (K.K.)
p. 13 = IV. I. 4. 33 ——काशीखण्डञ्च । 'सर्पि . . . . न योजयेत्' ।

7*b*. S.P.—Nāgarakhaṇḍa

T.T. S.P. (N.K.)
p. 125= VI. 266. 57 ——नागरखण्डे । 'उपवासप्रभावेण . . . प्रपूजया । . . . . .' ।

Sr.T. S.P. (N.K.)
p. 256 = VI. 216. 96*b*-97 ——यत्तु 'आषाढ्याः . . . . पितरो ध्रुवम्' । . . . . इति नागरखण्डे एकश्राद्धमुक्तं . . . . . वाक्यत्वात् ।

7*c*. S.P.—Prabhāsakhaṇḍa

T.T. S.P. (P.K.)
p. 1 = VII. I. 19. 2-3 ——तत्र . . . . स्कान्दे प्रभासखण्डम् । 'अमा . . . . वरानने' ।

p. 20 = VII. I. 205. 52 ——प्रभासखण्डम् । 'मृतस्याहो . . . मार्गके' ।

Sr.T. S.P. (P.K.)
p. 287 = VII. I. 205. 52 ——प्रभासखण्डम् । 'मृतस्याहो . . . . मार्गके' । (The same as the above.)

M.T. S.P. (P.K.)
pp. 756-7 = VII. I. 19. 2-3 ——तथा च . . . . स्कान्दे प्रभासखण्डम् । 'अमा . . . वरानने' । (The same as the quot. on p. 1 of T.T.)

8. Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa

T.T. B.V.P.
p. 38 = IV. 8. 72 ——'. . . त्रियामां . . . . संज्ञिते' इति कालमाधवीयधृतब्रह्मवैवर्तीयेन ।

p. 42 = IV. 8. 6 ——ब्रह्मवैवर्तः । 'मन्वादिदिवसे . . . . द्विज' ॥ तथा । 'अस्यां तिथौ . . . . . नात्र संशयः' ॥

p. 44 = IV. 8. 64–66 ——अतएव ब्रह्मवैवर्तः । 'नृणां विना . . . ऽसदृशं फलम्' ॥

p. 48 = IV. 8. 62-63*a*, IV. 8. 62*a* ——यदाह ब्रह्मवैवर्तः । 'उदये . . . न वा विभो' । . . . ब्रह्मवैवर्ते । 'उदये . . . सकला यदि' । (The second quot. is the same as the first line of the first quot.)

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T.T. B.V.P.

p. 49 = IV. 8. 54–55*a* ——एतद्विषय एव ब्रह्मवैवर्तवचनम्। 'वर्जनीया . . . देवकी-नन्दनः'।

p. 51 = IV. 8. 67-68 ——पारणकालश्च भविष्य-विष्णुरहस्य-ब्रह्मवैवर्तेषु 'अष्टम्यामथ . . . . तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्'।

p. 53 = IV. 8. 72 ——तथा च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते। 'त्रियामां . . . संज्ञिते'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 38 of T.T.)

p. 54 = IV. 8. 57*b*-58*a* ——एतद्विषये ब्रह्मवैवर्तः। 'सर्वेष्वेवोपवासेषु . . . . . धारण-पारणम्'।

p. 104 = IV. 26. 39 ——अस्यैव . . . . . प्रतिप्रसवमाह ब्रह्मवैवर्तः। 'शयनी . . . . कृष्णा कदाचन'।

p. 109 = IV. 8. 84-85 ——दानेन ब्रह्मवैवर्तोक्तेन। यथा 'उपवासासमर्थश्चेदेकं . . . . . व्रते नरः'।

A.T. B.V.P.

p. 326 = IV. 8. 72 ——'त्रियामां . . . . संज्ञिते'। इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तवचनैक-वाक्यत्वात्।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 38 and 53 of T.T.)

E.T. B.V.P.

p. 37 = IV. 26. 39 ——'शयनी . . . . कृष्णा कदाचन' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तवचने।
(The same as the quot. on p. 104 of T.T.)

p. 52 = IV. 8. 72 ——ब्रह्मवैवर्तः। '. . . . त्रियामां . . . संज्ञिते'।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 38 and 53 of T.T. and on p. 326 of A.T.)

p. 87 = IV. 8. 84-85 ——ब्रह्मवैवर्तः। 'उपवासासमर्थश्चेदेकं . . . व्रते नरः'।
(= p. 109 of T.T.)

p. 99 = IV. 8. 84-85 ——पुत्रादिप्रतिनिध्यभावे तु ब्रह्मवैवर्तः। 'उपावासा . . . नरः'।
(The same as the above.)

9. VĀYUPURĀṆA

Tīrthayātrātattva

T.Y.T. V.P.

p. 2 = II. 49. 20 ——'फल्गुतीर्थे पुण्यजले . . . . भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रसिद्धये'।

p. 3 = II. 48. 10–12 ——'कव्यवालोऽनलः . . . . श्राद्धेनानेन शाश्वतीम्'।

p. 4 = II. 48. 21-22 ——'आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्य्यन्तं . . . . तिलोदकम्'।

" = II. 48. 23-24 ——'पिता पितामहश्चैव . . . ह्यक्षय्यमुपतिष्ठताम्'।

p. 5 = II. 48. 30-31 ——'अस्मत्कुले मृता ये च . . . तिलोदकैः'। . . . 'बन्धुवर्गकुले . . . . तिलोदकैः'।

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T.Y.T.	V.P.	
p. 5 =	II. 48. 21-22	—'आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्य्यन्तं . . . . तिलोदकम्' । (= the 1st quot. on p. 4.)
pp. 5-6 =	II. 48. 33-34	—'अस्मत्कुले मृता ये च . . . ददाम्यहम्' ।
p. 6 =	II. 48. 41	—'रौरवे . . . . . ददाम्यहम्' ।
pp. 6-7 =	II. 48. 43-44	—'अनेकयातनासंस्थाः . . . . सेवकाश्च' ।
p. 7 =	II. 48. 55	—'मित्राणि . . . . . पिण्डमहं ददानि' ।
pp. 8–10 =	II. 48. 56	—'अस्मत्कुले मृता याश्च . . . . पिण्डमहं ददानि' ।
p. 11 =	II. 48. 59-60	—'साक्षिणः सन्तु . . . . अनृणोऽहमृणत्रयात्' ।
p. 12 =	II. 48. 18	—'जन्मान्तरशतं . . . . रामतीर्थाभिषेचनात्' ।
,, =	II. 46. 20	—'राम राम . . . . . नश्यतु पातकम्' ।
,, =	II. 46. 22	—'आपस्त्वमसि . . . . . मनोवाक्कायकर्मजम्' ।
p. 13 =	II. 46. 30	—'श्वानौ द्वौ . . . . . वहिंसकौ' ।
p. 14 =	II. 48. 63-64	—'ये केचित् . . . . . तृप्तिमायान्तु सर्वशः' ।
,, =	II. 49. 2*b*-3*a*	—'उत्तरे मानसे स्नानं . . . . पितृमुक्तये' ।
,, =	II. 48. 21-22	—'आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्य्यन्तं . . . . . तिलोदकम्' । (= the 1st quot. on p. 4 and the 2nd quot. on p. 5.)
p. 15 =	II. 48. 10–12	—'कव्यनालोऽनलः . . . . . श्राद्धेनानेन शाश्वतीम्' । (= the quot. on p. 3.)
,, =	II. 48. 21-22	—'आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्य्यन्तं . . . . तिलोदकम्' । (= the last quot. on p. 14.)
p. 16 =	II. 48. 23-24	—'पिता पितामहश्चैव . . . . . ह्यक्षय्यमुपतिष्ठताम्' । (= the 2nd quot. on p. 4.)
,, =	II. 49. 5	—'नमोऽस्तु . . . . . स्वरूपिणे' ।
pp. 16-17 =	II. 49. 10-11	—'दक्षिणे मानसे . . . . . दक्षिणमानसे' ।
p. 17 =	II. 49. 12	—'नमामि सूर्य्यं . . . . . रारोग्यवृद्धये' ।
,, =	II. 49. 20	—'फल्गुतीर्थे पुण्यजले . . . . भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रसिद्धये' । (= the quot. on p. 2.)
,, =	II. 49. 22	—'नमः शिवाय देवाय . . . . . शम्भवे' ।
p. 18 =	II. 49.24*b*–25*a*	—'ओं नमो वासुदेवाय . . . . . विष्णवे' ।
,, =	II. 49.31*b*–32*a*	—'प्रमाणं देवताः . . . . . निष्कृतिः कृता' ।
p. 19 =	II. 49.38*a*	—'स्नानं करोमि . . . . . तर्पणायात्मशुद्धये' ।
,, =	II. 49.43	—'आम्रं . . . . . मुक्तये' ।

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T.Y.T. V.P.

p. 20 = II. 49. 41 —'ओं नमो ब्रह्मणेऽजाय . . . तारकाय नमो नमः'।

= II. 49. 45*b*-46*a* —'यमराजभ्रमराजौ . . . . . मुक्तिहेतवे'।

" = II. 49. 47 —'वैवस्वतकुलोद्भूतौ . . . . पथि सर्वदा'।

" = II. 49. 48*b*–49*a* —'ऐन्द्रवारुणवायव्याः . . . . . मयोज्झितम्'।

p. 21 = II. 49. 20 —'फल्गुतीर्थे पुण्यजले . . . . भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रसिद्धये'। (= the quot. on p. 2 and the 2nd quot. on p. 17.)

p. 22 = II. 43. 23 —'दण्डं संस्पर्शयेद् . . . . पितृभिः सह'।

p. 23 = II. 45. 48-49, 50*b* and 52 (cf.) —. . . . प्रेतशिला। तामधिकृत्य वायुपुराणे। 'तां दृष्ट्वा . . . . . सप्तदशैः सह'।

" = II. 49. 90 —'गदालोले . . . . स्वराप्तये'।

p. 24 = II. 49. 98*b*-100*a* —'एकार्णवे . . . नमोऽक्षयवटाय वै'।

p. 25 = II. 50. 34*b*-35*a* —'यासौ वैतरिणी . . . . तारणाय वै'।

p. 27 = II. 50. 72*b*–73*a* —'गयागजो . . . . . मुक्तिदायिकाः'।

p. 28 = II. 46. 90*a* —'एष पिण्डो . . . . हस्ते जनार्दन'।

" = II. 46. 89*a* —'यस्तु पिण्डो . . . मुद्दिश्य जनार्दन'।

" = II. 46. 91–93 —'जनार्दन नमस्तुभ्यं . . . पितृमोक्षद'।

10. Matsyapurāṇa

1. Śrāddhatattva

Śr.T. M.P.

p. 191 = ch. 17, vv. 2*b* and 63-4 —यत्तु 'अमावास्या . . . पञ्चदशीषु' इत्यभिधाय 'एतच्चानुपनीतोऽपि . . . . विधिना बुध(धः?)' इति मत्स्यपुराणे।

p. 265 = ch. 22, vv. 82-83 —'प्रातःकालो . . . . सर्वकर्मसु' इति मत्स्यपुराणवचने।

pp. 265-6 = ch. 22, vv. 88, 84 and 2 —एवञ्च 'ऊर्द्ध मुहूर्तात् . . . . . स्वधाभवनमिष्यते' इति मत्स्यपुराणे आपराह्णिकश्राद्धे 'अह्नो मुहूर्त्ता . . . . . कुतपः स्मृतः' इति तद्वचनान्तरोक्तकुतपस्य 'अपराह्णे तु . . . . . मुदाहृतम्' इति मत्स्यपुराणविरोधात्।

2. Malamāsatattva

M.T. M.P.

p. 840 = ch. 274 vv. 3*a*, 6–9, 37-38*a* —मत्स्यपुराणे। 'अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि महादानस्य लक्षणम्' इत्यभिधाय 'आद्यन्तु सर्वदानानां . . . . षोडशः परिकीर्तितः' . . . . . तथा च मत्स्यपुराणम्। 'विनायकादि . . . यथास्वरूपम्'।

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11. Bhāgavatapurāṇa or Śrīmad-bhāgavata with the commentary of Śrīdharasvāmin

1. Tithitattva

T.T. S.bh.

pp. 67-8 = 10/22/1*b* —दुर्गापूजाया व्रतत्वं व्यक्तं श्रीभागवते 'चेरुर्हविष्यं भुञ्जानाः कात्यायन्यर्चनव्रतम्'।

p. 71 = 1/2/4 with com. —'नारायणं . . . . जयमुदीरयेत्' इति विधेः भागवतीयसूतोक्तौ उदीरयेदित्यस्य . . . . श्रीधरस्वामिव्याख्यानमनुशासनविरुद्धञ्चैवेत्यत्र व्यासमिति भागवते पाठात् . . . . भागतते तु . . . साक्षाल्लिखितम्।

p. 90 = 5/26/31 —स्त्रियास्तु 'ये त्विह वै पुरुषाः . . . पिबन्ति' इति श्रीभागवत-पञ्चमस्कन्धगद्येन (पशुमांसभक्षणनिन्दया न तेन पारणं किन्तु मत्स्येन)।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. S.bh.

p. 352 = 1/17/32, 38, 39 and 41*a* with com. —भागवते कलिं प्रति परीक्षिद्वाक्यम्। 'त्वां वर्तमानं . . . . पुरुषः क्वचित्'। . . . बुभूषुः ऊर्द्धं भवितुमिच्छुः।

p. 415 = 10/86/23*b* —'कैर्धृताञ्जलिभिर्नेमुः' इति भागवतीयात्।

pp. 415-6 = 11/5/31*b*, 33–35, 11/27/45*b*–46*b* —श्रीभागवते। 'नानातन्त्रविधानेन . . . . . श्रेयसामीश्वरो हरिः'। तथा। 'स्तुत्वा . . . . . मृत्युग्रहार्णवात्' इति भगवद्वाक्यम्।

p. 416 = —श्रीभागवते। 'मन्त्रहीनं . . . . . तदस्तु मे'।

,, = 6/19/20 —षष्ठस्कन्धेऽपि। 'उद्वास्य . . . . . सर्वकामसमृद्धये'।

p. 456 = 8/16/41*a*, —स्वदत्तस्यापि भक्षणमाह श्रीभागवते। 'निवेदितं . . . . स्वयम्'।

6/19/20, —फलमप्याह 'उद्वास्य . . . . सर्वकामसमृद्धये'। . . . . (= the second quot. on p. 416 of A.T.)

11/6/46, —'त्वयोपभुक्त . . . . . जयेमहि'।

11/11/40-41 com. —'हृदिरूपं . . . . . सोऽच्युतः'।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

F.T. S.bh.

p. 517 = 10/12/37 com. —दशमस्कन्धीय-द्वादशाध्यायटीकायां श्रीधरस्वामिधृतवचनम्। पोगण्डमाह 'कौमारं . . . . . परम्'।

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4. Jyotistattva

J.T. S.bh.
p. 591 = 10/53/12-13 ——तथोक्तं भगवत्या रुक्मिण्या भविष्यद्विवाहे श्रीभागवते। 'चक्रुः.....विधिविदाम्वरः'।

5. Malamāsatattva

M.T. S.bh.
pp. 837-8 = 11/3/46 with com. ——एकादशस्कन्धे 'वेदोक्तमेव....फलश्रुतिः'। वेदोक्तमेव .....रुच्युत्पादनार्था।

pp. 838-9 = 11/21/23–26 with com. ——अतएव अत्रैव 'फलश्रुतिरियं....वदन्ति हि'। इयं फलश्रुतिर्न.....तथा न वदन्तीति।

p. 839 = 6/9/50 with com. ——(पण्डितेनापि मूर्खः काम्ये कर्मणि न प्रवर्तयितव्य इत्याह) षष्ठस्कन्धे। 'स्वयं.....भिषक्तमः'। राति ददाति।

6. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. S.bh.
p. 892 = 10/53/12-13 ——भगवत्या रुक्मिण्या विवाहे तथा दर्शनात्। तथा च भागवते। 'चक्रुः.....विधिविदां वरः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 591 of J.T.)

7. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. S.bh.
p. 63 = 11/27/13-14 ——एकादशस्कन्धेऽपि। 'उद्वासावाहने.....भवेद्द्वयम्'।

pp. 63-4 = 7/7/51-52, 7/5/23-24, 11/14/23-24 ——तथा च भागवते। 'नालं द्विजत्वं....हरिरन्यद्-विडम्बनम्'। (वृत्तं यथा 'गुरुपूजा....वृत्तमुच्यते'।) भक्तिश्च नवधा। 'श्रवणं.....भक्तिश्चेन्नवलक्षणा'। तथा 'कथं विना...भुवनं पुनाति'।

p. 71 = 11/11/41 ——श्रीभागवते। 'यद्यदिष्टतमं.....तदानन्त्याय कल्पते'।

p. 75 = 11/5/31*b*, 33–35, 11/27/45*b*–46*b* ——श्रीभागवते। 'नानातन्त्रविधानेन...श्रेयसामीश्वरो हरिः। स्तुत्वा.....मृत्युभयार्णवात्'। (S.bh. reads °ग्रहार्णवात्.)
(The same as the quot. on pp. 415-6 of A.T.)

p. 76 = 10/86/23*b* ——'कैर्धृताञ्जलिभिर्नेमुः' इति भागवतीयात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 415 of A.T.)

p. 76 = ——भागवते। 'मन्त्रहीनं.....तदस्तु मे'।
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 416 of A.T.)

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E.T. S.bh.

p. 80 = —भागवतटीकायाम्। 'कलार्द्धं.....महानिशाम्'।

p. 82 = 11/11/40-41 com. —यत्तु 'पितृशेषन्तु.....क्लेशभागिनः' इति भागवतोक्तं (तत् पितृदत्तप्रतिगृहीतविषयमिति।)

pp. 82-3 = 11/6/46, 11/11/40-41, com. 6/19/20, 8/16/39*b*-41*a*, 11/11/40 —भागवते। 'त्वयोपभुक्त.....जयेमहि'। तथा 'हृदि रूपं.....सोऽच्युतः'। तस्यैव षष्ठस्कन्धीय-पयोव्रते। 'उद्वास्य...सर्वकामसमृद्धये।...अष्टमस्कन्धेऽपि। 'गन्धपुष्पादिभिः.....निवेदितं..... (S.bh. reads गन्धधूपा°). स्वयम्'।.....'अपि दीपावलोकं.....निवेदितम्' इति श्रीभागवतीयञ्च (तद्देवोपभुज्यमानद्रव्यपरम्।)

(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 456 of A.T. The 3rd quot. is the same as the 2nd quot. on p. 416 of A.T.)

8. Udvāhatattva

U.T. S.bh.

p. 125 = 10/53/12-13 —भगवत्या रुक्मिण्या भविष्यद्विवाहे तथा दर्शनात्। यथा भागवते। 'चक्रुः.....विधिविदाम्वरः'।

(The same as the quot. on p. 591 of J.T. and on p. 892 of Sm.T.)

9. Dāyatattva

D.T. S.bh.

pp. 182-3 = 10/64/16-18, 24*b* —(तत्र स्वीयबुद्ध्या परकीयापहारे यदस्तेयत्वमुक्तं तन्न समीचीनं) भागवतीय-नृगोपाख्यानविरोधात्। तथाहि 'कस्यचिद्.....कृकलाशतनुं प्रभो' इति।

(S.bh. omits the last but one line.)

10. Śuddhitattva

S.T. S.bh.

p. 242 = 1/13/58 —श्रीभागवते तदुक्तम्। 'दह्यमाने.....अनुवेक्ष्यति'। (अनुवेक्ष्यति अनुप्रवेशनं करिष्यतीति युधिष्ठिराय नारदस्य भविष्यत्कथनम्।)

p. 300 = 1/9/43-44, 46 —तथा च श्रीभागवते। 'कृष्ण.....दुःखितोऽभवत्'।

p. 303 = 3/30/23-24 —श्रीभागवतीय-तृतीयस्कन्ध-कापिलीये। 'तथा..यातनाः'।

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(*b*) The Upa-purāṇas

Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa

1. Tithitattva

T.T. V.D.

pp. 1-2 = cf. 1/72/2 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे च। 'अनादिनिधनः कालो....परिकीर्तितः'।

p. 2 = 1/72/11*b*-12*b* —'त्रिंशांशक....तिथिरित्यभिधीयते' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनात्।
(V.D. reads °मासार्धेन न संशयः।)

pp. 2-3 = 1/60/24–26 —तत्र....निर्णयमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'नक्षत्रं.... यस्यामस्तमितो रविः'।
(V.D. omits the 3rd v. and reads the first and fourth vv. differently.)

p. 3 = 1/60/25*a* —अतएव विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे 'सा तिथिस्तदहोरात्र'मित्यनेन।

p. 8 = 1/60/26 —'शुक्लपक्षे.....यस्यामस्तमितो रविः'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरैकवाक्यत्वात्।
(Part of the quot. on pp. 2-3 of T.T.; V.D. reads the last line differently.)

„ = 1/60/26 —पितृकृत्ये.....विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनात्...व्यवस्था।

„ = 1/60/24–26 —एवञ्च प्रागुक्त-विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचने 'उपवासश्च कर्तव्यः कथम्'.....कर्माणीति बहुवचननिर्देशाच्चावगम्यते। अपराह्णविहितन्तु 'ययास्तं सविता याती'त्यस्य.... इत्युक्तम्।

p. 10 = cf. 2/117/42 —'कृते.....प्रपद्यते'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयात्तथा... कल्प्यते।

p. 22 = —'एकैकां देवतां....होमयेत्' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरदर्शनात्।

p. 23 = 2/89/49*b*-50*a* —जन्मनक्षत्रादीनां....विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'गोपयेज्.....यत्'।

p. 25 = 1/60/26*b*-27 —'उपोषितव्यं....शशिना सह' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तराच्च।

p. 26 = 2/89/69*a*–71*a* —प्रतिमासे जन्मनक्षत्रकृत्यमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'जन्म.....विशेषतः'।

p. 29 = —यथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'देव....व्रतभङ्गभयान्नरः'।

p. 35 = 2/89/72*b*-73*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अष्टमीञ्च....तथैव च'।

p. 38 = —अत्रारुणोदयकाले....स्नानं 'व्रतोपवास...वस्तगामिनी'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरात्।

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T.T.	V.D.	
p. 47	=	—भविष्यपुराण-विष्णुधर्मोत्तरयोः—'अर्धरात्रे . . . न सीदति'।
,,	=	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरादिपुराणयोः—'रोहिणी . . . . जागरम्'।
p. 49	= 1/60/26*b*-27*a*	—तथा च भविष्यपुराणविष्णुधर्मोत्तरयोः। 'उपो . . . शशिना सह'।
p.p. 49-50	=	—यत्तु विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'जयन्ती . . . . . पारणम्'।
p. 50	=	—गरुडपुराण-विष्णुधर्मोत्तरयोः। 'जयन्त्यां . . . पारणम्'।
p. 57	=	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे च। 'नक्षत्राणि . . . . वर्जयेत्'।
p. 58	=	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'सर्वाशुभानां . . . . विष्णोः' इति।
p. 62	= 1/60/26	—व्यवस्थापयति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयं। 'शुक्लपक्षे . . . यस्यामस्तमितो रविः'। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 8 of T.T.)
p. 86	=	—आश्विनाधिकारे 'अष्टमी . . . . . तिथिः' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयमप्येतद्विषयम्।
,,	= 2/158/3	—तथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'भद्रकालीं . . . . . पुनरेव ताम्'। (V.D. omits the third line.)
p. 98	= 3/287/8*a*-9*a*, 10, 11*b*	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'दूर्वाहोमः . . . . घृतेनाष्टगुणं ततः'।
p. 104	=	—'भृगु-भानु . . . . . पुत्रपौत्र-विवर्धिनी' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तराच्च।
pp. 104-5	=	—पितृवासरादौ तु . . . . . विष्णुधर्मोत्तर . . . . 'उपवासो . . . पुत्रवान् गृही' इति।
p. 110	=	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'द्वादश्याः . . . . . विष्णुतत्परः'।
p. 112	=	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'विष्णुर्दिवा . . . . . विचिन्तयेत्'।
p. 117	= 1/142/3*a*	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'प्रौष्ठपद्याम् . . . . . प्रजापतिः'। (V.D. has got the first line only.)
p. 118	= 1/142/21	—व्यक्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'मवायुक्ता . . . . पायसेन च'।
p. 126	=	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'जयन्ती . . . . . पारणम्'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 49-50 of T.T.)
p. 134	=	—ज्यैष्ठसंवत्सरश्च 'ज्येष्ठा . . . . दैवतम्' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरोक्तो ग्राह्यः।
,,	=	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे ब्रह्मपुराणम्। 'मासि . . . पदमव्ययम्'।
,,	= 1/142/2*b*-3*a*	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'पौर्णमासी . . . प्रौष्ठपद्याम् . . . . . प्रजापतिः'। (V.D. has got the first two lines only. Partly the same as the quot. on p. 117 of T.T.)

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T.T.	V.D.	
p. 153 =	1/4/3*b*-4*a*	—धनुःप्रमाणमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयप्रथमकाण्डम् । 'द्वादशाङ्गुलिकः. . . . धनुःसहस्रिकः' इति । (V.D. reads. . . . . तद्द्वयं हस्त उच्यते. . . सहस्रिका ।)
p. 158 =		—'चन्द्रस्य यदिवा. . . परेऽहनि' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनेन सामान्यतो निषेधात् ।
p. 162 =	2/89/32*b*-33*a*	—एवञ्च 'तैले जले. . . दिवाकरम्' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयमपि वैधेतरनिषेधकम् ।
p. 165 =	1/72/16*b*	—'तिथिनैकेन दिवसश्चान्द्रमाने प्रकीर्तितः' । इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयानुसारेण. . . . युक्तत्वात् ।
pp. 165-6 =	1/142/19*a*-21*a*	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'उत्तरादयनात्. . . . राजंस्त्रयोदशी' ।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T.	V.D.	
p. 242 =		—तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'वैश्वदेवो. . . यतः स्मृताः' ।
p. 249 =		—तत्र घ्राणमाहुः. . . . विष्णुधर्मोत्तर. . . । 'उपवासो. . . पितृसेवितम्' । (Part of the quot. on pp. 104-5 of T.T.)
p. 255 =	1/72/16*b*	—'तिथिनैकेन. . . . प्रकीर्त्तितः' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरानुसारेण. . . युक्तत्वात् । (= the quot. on p. 165 of T.T.)
„ =	1/142/19*a*–21*a*	—त्रिभागहीनं व्यक्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'उत्तरादयनात्. . . . राजंस्त्रयोदशी' । (The same as the quot. on pp. 165-6 of T.T.)
p. 257 =	1/142/3*a*	—अस्य नित्यत्वमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम् । 'प्रौष्ठपद्याम्. . . . प्रजापतिः' । (The same as the quot. on p. 117 of T.T.)
„ =	1/142/21	—तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम् । 'मघायुक्ता. . . . पायसेन च' । (The same as the quot. on p. 118 of T.T.)
p. 263 =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'सर्वाशुभानां. . . . विष्णोः' इति । (The same as the quot. on p. 58 of T.T.)
p. 264 =	1/142/2*b*-3*a*	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'पौर्णमासी. . . . . प्रजापतिः' । (The same as the 3rd quot. on p. 134 of T.T. and partly the same as that on p. 117 of T.T.)

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Sr.T. V.D.		A.T. pp. 393
pp. 266-7 = 1/60/26	––उभयदिने....व्यवस्था। 'शुक्लपक्षे....यस्यामस्तमितो रविः'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरात्। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 8 of T.T. and part of the quot. on pp. 2-3 of T.T.; V.D. reads the last line differently.)	p. 399
p. 302 = cf. 2/117/42	––अत्र वृद्धिनिमित्तं विना....प्रेतत्वपरीहारमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'कृते सपिण्डीकरणे....भोगिदेहं प्रपद्यते'। (The same as the quot. on p. 10 of T.T.)	p. 400
pp. 320-1 = 1/142/16*b*-17*a*	––तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'अच्छिन्ननाड्यां....नराधिप'।	p. 410
	3. Āhnikatattva	p. 411
A.T. V.D.		
p. 327 = 2/88/1*a*-2*a*	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'निद्रां जह्याद्.....सर्वकल्मषनाशनम्'।	p. 412
p. 328 = 2/89/51*b*	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'वेगरोधं.....क्रोधवेगतः'।	p. 413
p. 331 = 2/89/43*a*	––पादप्रक्षालनं....विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'दर्भैर्न.....प्रधावयेत्'।	„
p. 356 =	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'त्वराक्रोधौ.....क्रियाः'।	pp. 413
p. 362 = 2/89/72*b*-73*a*	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अष्टमीञ्च....तथैव च'। (The same as the quot. on p. 35 of T.T.)	p. 428
p. 363 = 2/89/32*b*-33*a*	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'तैले जले....दिवाकरम्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 162 of T.T.)	p. 455
p. 364 = 2/89/4*b*-5*b*	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'वस्त्रं.....विभवे सति'। (V.D. omits the last line.)	P.T.
p. 365 = 2/89/35*b*-37*a*	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अकारणं नदीपारं.....न व्रजेत्'। (V.D. reads a bit differently.)	p. 468
p. 366 = 2/89/52*a*	––अतएव विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'नोपेक्षितव्यो व्याधिः....भार्गव'।	p. 496
p. 367 = 1/4/3*b*-4*a*	––तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'द्वादशाङ्गुलिकः...सहस्रिकः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 153 of T.T.; V.D. reads a bit differently.)	p. 507
p. 370 =	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'तथा दर्भोदक...काञ्चनवारिणा'।	p. 510
„ =	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'चण्डालैः....काष्ठेन वा पुनः'।	
p. 385 =	––'ब्रह्माणं....वन्धनात्' इति बृहस्पतिधृतविष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनात्।	p. 547

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A.T. V.D.

pp. 393-4 = 2/124/29*b*-30*b*, 36, 21 ——जातवेदसे....आह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'जातवेदस.... गृहम्'।....तत्रैव। 'व्युष्टायाञ्च....विनाशने'।

p. 399 = 3/341/322 ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'अकामः....न शोचते'।

p. 400 = 3/341/209 ——एवम् 'उग्रगन्धी.....कण्टकीनि तथैव च'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरोक्त——अन्यायतनजातानीत्यपि द्विजेतरपरम्।

p. 410 = cf. 1/141/13*a*-14*a* ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'चन्दनागुरु....प्राप्नोत्यसंशयम्'।

p. 411 = 3/341/210 ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'रक्तानि.....चाकालजानि च'। तथा। 'कीटजं....दौर्भाग्यमाप्नुयात्'।
(V.D., which has got the first verse only, reads it a bit differently.)

p. 412 = 2/91/11*a*, 3/341/214*b* ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'रक्ताशोकस्य....भूचम्पकस्य च'।

p. 413 = 3/341/204*b*-205*a* ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'पुष्पाभावे च....पुण्यमवाप्यते'।

„ = cf. 3/341/268*b* ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'धूपदः....सर्वमश्नुते'।

pp. 413-4 = 3/341/272*b*-273*a* ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'यावदक्षिनिमेषाणि..महीयते'। तथा। 'यः कुर्य्यात्तेन.....पुष्पितेक्षणः'।
(V.D. omits the second verse.)

p. 428 = ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'चाण्डालो....मतो मम'।

p. 455 = 2/79/15*a*, 25*b* ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'मुखवर्जन्तु गौः...शुद्धिरिष्यते'।
(Diff. reading in V.D.)

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. V.D.

p. 468 = ——'अस्नातस्य क्रियाः.....नित्यमतन्द्रितः'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तराच्च।

p. 496 = 1/60/26*b*-27*a* ——'उपोषितव्यं नक्षत्रं...शशिना सह'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तराच्च।
(The same as the quot. on p. 49 of T.T.)

p. 507 = ——'ज्येष्ठामूलोपगे....शक्रदैवतम्' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरोक्तो ग्राह्यः।
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 134 of T.T.)

p. 510 = ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे श्राद्धादावस्तंगामिनीति चतुर्थचरणे पाठः।
(Part of the quot. on p. 38 of T.T.)

p. 547 = 2/73/190*b*-191*a* ——शुष्कान्ने पक्वान्नार्धं प्रायश्चित्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरदर्शनात्। यथा 'यस्तस्य.....भगवान्मनुः'।

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5. Jyotistattva

J.T.	V.D.	
p. 623 = 2/56/120		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'तामसा . . . . वातपित्तकफाधिकाः'।
pp. 647-8 = 2/8/42-43, 2/9/12 and 16		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'दृष्टिः . . . . गुणा वसन्ति'। (Diff. read. in V.D.)
p. 648 = 2/52/56		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'सूतिकावासनिलया . . . . . तथा बलिः'। (V.D. has got the last two lines only.)
p. 651 = 2/52/84*a*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'चतुर्थे मासि . . . . . गृहात्'।
p. 656 = 2/52/123*a*-124*a*, 126*b*-127*b*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'संप्राप्ते पञ्चमे . . . विशेषतः'। (V.D. reads सुविद्यां for स्वविद्या in the last line.)
p. 660 = 2/85/21*a*-22*a*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'षोडशाब्दो . . . . निवर्तते'।
p. 671 = 2/29/94*b*-95*a*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'गोपुच्छविन्यस्तकरः . . . . निलयं विशेच्च'। (V.D. has got the first two lines only.)
p. 679 = 2/56/92*b*-95*a*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'हरिं . . . . . दपहन्ति रोगान्'। (Diff. read. in V.D.)
p. 703 = 2/82/31		——हारीतः। 'अष्टागवं . . . . . जीवितार्थिनाम्। चतुर्गवं . . . ब्रह्मघातिना'मिति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे पाठः। (Though Raghu° quotes the first line as from Hārīta and the second as its diff. reading from V.D., yet the two lines not only make a full and sensible verse but are also found in V.D.)
pp. 703-4 = 2/82/10 and 12		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'क्षिप्राणि . . . . सूर्य्यसुतस्य च'।
pp. 705-6 = cf. 2/134, 140 and 143		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'ग्रहर्क्षवैकृतं . . . देशविद्रवकारणम्'।
p. 731 = 3/341/39*b*-40*a*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे विष्णोरित्यधिकृत्य 'नामसंकीर्तनं . . . नात्र संशयः'। (Diff. read. in V.D.)

6. Malamāsatattva

M.T.	V.D.	
pp. 740-41 = 1/72/13*b*-16*a*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मासपदं सङ्केतितं यथा। 'चन्द्रमाः . . . . चोच्यते'।
p. 741 = cf. 1/72/13*b*-16*a*		——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरादिवचनस्य तत्परिचायकत्वेनोपपत्तौ . . . . ।

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M.T.	V.D.	
p. 741 =	1/72/26	––तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अध्वायनञ्च.....व्यवहारकर्म'।
p. 749 =	2/85/21*a*-22*a*	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'षोडशाब्दा (°ब्दो ?)....निवर्तते'। (The same as the quot. on p. 660 of J.T.)
pp. 752-3 =	1/72/27*b*	––नाक्षत्रमासप्रयोजनं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'नक्षत्रसत्रा...भगणात्मकेन'।
p. 753 =	1/72/13*b*	––तत्परिचायकानि 'चन्द्रमाः कृष्णपक्षान्ते' इत्यादि विष्णुधर्मोत्तराद्युक्तवचनानि।
p. 755 =	1/72/11*b*-12*b*	––तथा...विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'त्रिंशांशक...त्यभिधीयते'। (The same as the quot. on p. 2 of T.T.)
p. 759 =	cf. 1/72/2	––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अनादिनिधनः कालो...परिकीर्तितः'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 1-2 of T.T.)
p. 764 =	3/317/2-3	––संवत्सरफलमुक्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'संवत्सरे..... सम्भवम्'। (V.D. omits the last two lines.)
p. 771 =	1/72/16*b*-17*a*	––तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'तिथिनैकेन दिवसश्चान्द्रमाने प्रकीर्तितः।.....दिवसः स्मृतः'। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 165 of T.T. and as the 1st quot. on p. 255 of Sr.T.)
p. 772 =	1/72/21*a*–23*a*	––तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'सौरवत्सरस्यान्ते..... गर्हितः'।
p. 773 =	1/72/19*b*-20*a*	––तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरप्रथमकाण्डम्। 'सौरेणाब्दस्तु.... प्रपूर्य्यते'।
p. 797 =	1/42/42, 43*b*-45*a*	––तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे...भगवद्वाक्यम्। 'पर्वकाले.... सुरेश्वर'।
p. 799 =	1/60/26	––'शुक्लपक्षे.....यस्यामस्तमितो रविः' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनादेव व्यवस्था। (The same as the 1st quot. on p. 8 of T.T. and as that on pp. 266-7 of Sr.T.)
pp. 812-3 =	1/142/26*b*-27*a*	––यद्यपि 'ब्रीहिपाके (च)....कथञ्चन'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचने.....प्रतीयते।
p. 816 =		––विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेण.....निषेधाच्च। यथा। 'नक्षत्राणि....वर्जयेत्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 57 of T.T.)

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M.T. V.D.

p. 824 = 2/52/123*a*-124*a*, 126*b*-127*b* —एवञ्च कालाशुद्धौ विद्यारम्भं न कुर्य्यात् तद्विधानञ्च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'संप्राप्ते पञ्चमे . . . . विशेषतः'। (V.D. reads सुविद्यां for स्वविद्या in the last line. The same as the quot. on p. 656 of J.T.)

p. 833 = 2/18/5 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'शेतेऽत्र . . . . प्रावृषि द्विज'। (V.D. omits the first two lines.)

pp. 839-40 = —तथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेऽग्निपुराणे च। 'यत्र यत्र . . . . प्रतिपादयेत्'।

p. 840 = 3/341/52*b*, 153*b*-154*a*, 322*a*-324*a*, 326*b*-327*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरतृतीयकाण्डे तु विष्णुसम्प्रदानकमेव दानम्। 'विष्णोः . . . . . लोकमाप्नुयात्'। इत्यादिना 'क्षीरपल्लवसंयुक्तान् . . . वाजिमेधफलं भवेत्'। इत्यन्तेन तत्तत्फलं तत्तद्दानमभिधायोक्तम्। 'अकामः सात्त्विको . . . . मेधसाम्। पद्भ्यां . . . . द्विजोत्तमैः' इति।

p. 843 = 1/142/19*a*-21*a* —तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'उत्तरादयनात् . . . . राजंस्त्रयोदशी'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 165-6 of T.T.)

p. 850 = 2/77/9*b*-10*a* —अतएव द्वैतनिर्णये एतद्विषये विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेण त्रयोदशे मासिकश्राद्धमुक्तम्। यथा 'संवत्सरस्य . . . . . प्रेतस्य वार्षिकी'। (V.D. reads the second line as 'ततो द्वादशके श्राद्धे कार्य्यं तदधिमासिकम्'।)

7. Saṃskāratattva

Sm.T. V.D.

p. 881 = —ततो 'गच्छध्वममराः . . . . . सुपूजिताः' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयेण विसर्जयेत्।

p. 894 = 3/301/15*a*, 28*b*-29*a* —कन्याया . . . . विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'कन्यादास . . . . . प्रकीर्तिताः। . . . . तथा। 'भूमेः . . . . द्विजोत्तमाः'।

" = 3/301/10-11 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद् . . . कामस्तुत्या प्रतिग्रहम्'। (V.D. omits the first line.)

p. 927 = 2/85/21*a*-22*a* —तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'षोडशाब्दो . . . निवर्तते'। (The same as the quot. on p. 660 of J.T. and on p. 749 of M.T.)

p. 941 = 2/29/94*b*-95*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'गोपुच्छविन्यस्तकरः . . . तथैव च'। (Part of the quot. on p. 671 of J.T.)

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8. Ekādaśītattva

E.T.	V.D.	
p. 3 =	1/60/25-26	—तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'सा तिथि.....यस्यामस्तमितो रविः'। (Part of the quot. on pp. 2-3 of T.T. V.D. omits the second verse and reads the last line of the third verse differently.)
p. 17 =		—तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'द्वादश्याः प्रथमः...विष्णुतत्परः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 110 of T.T.)
p. 23 =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'एकादश्यां...विष्णुलोकाच्च्युतो भवेत्'। तथा। 'प्रतिग्रासं...मनाक्'।
p. 33 =	cf. 1/140/63	—जीवत्पितृकादिना....पितामहाद्यूहमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'येषां श्राद्धं....तेन श्राद्धं नराधिप'।
p. 36 =		—'दशम्यां.....पक्षयोरुभयोरपि' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचने।
pp. 39-40 =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'एकादश्यां....पुत्रपौत्रविवर्धिनी'। (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 104 of T.T.)
p. 40 =		—नित्ये तु वराहपुराण-विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-कात्यायनाः। 'उपवासो.....पितृसेवितम्'। यत्तु 'रविवारे.....पुत्रवान् गृही' इति। (The same as the quot. on pp. 104-5 of T.T. and partly the same as that on p. 249 of Sr.T.)
p. 41 =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे बृहद्वशिष्ठसंहितायाञ्च। 'सम्पूर्णैकादशी.....विष्णुप्रीणनतत्परैः।
p. 51 =		—'दिग्भीरुद्रे....परेऽहनि' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयस्यापि...व्यवस्था न तु व्यवस्थान्तरम्।
p. 65 =	cf. 1/141/13*a*-14*a*	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'चन्दनागुरुकर्पूरं.....किञ्चिदेवानुलेपनम्'। (1st part of the quot. on p. 410 of A.T.)
,, =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तराग्निपुराणयोः। 'सुगन्धैश्च....जगतीपतिम्'।
,, =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अनुलिप्तं.....प्राप्नोत्यसंशयः'। (2nd part of the quot. on p. 410 of A.T.)
p. 66 =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'धर्मार्जितधनक्रीतैः...दशापरान्'।
,, =	2/91/11*a*, 3/341/214*b*	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'रक्ताशोकस्य.....कुसुमं तथा'। ....तथा च। 'चम्पकस्य.....भूचम्पकस्य च'। (The same as the quot. on p. 412 of A.T.)

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E.T. V.D.

p. 67 = 3/341/209-210 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'उग्रगन्धी.....यानि चाकालजानि च'। तथा। 'कुटजं....दौर्भाग्यमाप्नुयात्'।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 400 and 411 of A.T., mixed together. V.D., which has got the first two verses only, reads them a bit differently.)

p. 69 = cf. 3/341/206*b*–207*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'भृङ्गराजस्य...विनिवेदयेत्'। तथा। 'पुष्पाणि.....च्युतम्'।

p. 70 = 3/341/204*b*–205*a*, 249*b*-250*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'पुष्पाभावेऽपि.....पुण्यमवाप्यते। न रत्नैर्न....पुष्पैर्जनार्दनः'।
(Partly the same as the 1st quot. on p. 413 of A.T.)

,, = cf. 3/341/268*b* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'धूपदः.....सर्वमश्नुते'।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 413 of A.T.)

p. 71 = 3/341/272*b*-273*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'यावदक्षिनिमेषाणि.....महीयते'। तथा। 'यः कुर्य्यात्तेन.....पुष्पितेक्षणः'।
(V.D. omits the second verse. The same as the quot. on pp. 413-4 of A.T.)

p. 76 = 3/341/101*b*-102*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'जानुभ्याञ्चैव.....सर्वान् कामानवाप्नुयात्'।

p. 78 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'द्वादश्याः.....विष्णुतत्परः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 110 of T.T.)

p. 80 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'असम्भाष्यान्...शुध्यति'।

pp. 81-2 = cf. 3/341/205*b*—प्रकृते तु विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'पत्रं पुष्पं....नारकी'।

p. 101 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'मृगशीर्षे....नावसीदति'।
(Quoted with additions on pp. 113-4 of T.T. as from Viṣṇudharma.)

p. 102 = 3/319/28 —रात्रौ....निद्रेति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'स्वास्तीर्णशयनं...महीयते'।

,, = —शयने कुटजविधानात् विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयनिषेधोऽन्यत्र।
(cf. the quot. p. 411 of A.T. and p. 67 of E.T.)

pp. 103-4 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'विष्णुर्दिवा...विचिन्तयेत्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 112 of T.T.)

p. 104 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'किं तन्मैत्राद्यपादेन...यो निशि'।

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9. Udvāhatattva

U.T. V.D.

p. 137 = cf. 1/140/63 —तत्र पितामहाद्यूहमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम् । 'येषां श्राद्धं . . . नराधिप' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 33 of E.T. with a slightly diff. reading.)

p. 138 = 3/316/20*b*-21*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'विवाहादिक्रियाकाले . . . . . सोऽश्वमेधफलं लभेत्' ।

p. 141 = 3/341/39*b*-40*a* —अन्यत्र तु . . . . विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम् । 'नामसंकीर्तनं . . . न संशयः' ।
(Almost the same as the quot. on p. 731 of J.T.)

„ = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'नासंवृतमुखः . . . . तथा क्षुतम्' ।

p. 142 = —गन्धादौ . . . विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'माल्यानु . . . भृगुनन्दन' ।

p. 143 = —अतएव दान (विष्णु?)-धर्मोत्तरे । 'सर्वत्र प्राङ्मुखो . . . . विपर्य्ययः' ।

p. 147 = 2/34/39-40, 2/89/86 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'मण्डनं . . . कदाचिदपि धारयेत्' । तथा । 'येनेच्छेद्विपुलां . . . . . दारसन्दर्शनं तथा' ।

10. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. V.D.

p. 205 = —अतएवाध्यापनेऽपि तथोक्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'संस्कृतैः . . गुरुः स्मृतः' ।

p. 222 = 1/72/26*b*, 1/72/15*a* —तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम् । 'सत्राण्युपास्यान्यथ . . . . . व्यवहारकर्म' । तत्रैव । 'सावने च तथा मासि . . . . . स्मृताः' । इति ।

11. Śuddhitattva

S.T. V.D.

p. 246 = —'प्रभातायाञ्च . . . . . ऽनुदिते तथा' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनात् ।

p. 252 = 2/95/2*b*-5*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेऽपि । 'देवानाञ्च . . . . . तपसा तथा' ॥

pp. 252-3 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'सूतिकावासनिलया . . . . जन्मदानाञ्च कारयेत्' ।
(Part of the quot. on p. 648 of J.T.)

p. 265 = 2/75/14 —रत्नाकरादौ शङ्खः विष्णुधर्मोत्तरञ्च । 'पितृवेश्मनि . . . . शाम्यति' ।

p. 286 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरञ्च । 'स्वाम्यर्थे . . . . . स्वर्गगामिनः' ।

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S.T.	V.D.	
p. 296 = 2/79/15*a*, 25*b*		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'मुखवर्जञ्च गौः . . . शुद्धिरिष्यते'। (V.D. reads मार्जारः श्वा च नो and पुष्पाणां चन्दनानां च for मार्जारश्चंक्रमे शुचिः and पुष्पाणाञ्च फलानाञ्च respectively. The same as the quot. on p. 455 of A.T.)
p. 324 = 2/116/11*b*-12*a*, cf. 2/116/14*a*, 2/116/39*b*–43*a*		—तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'तत्क्षणादेव . . . विग्रहात्'। . . . . . तथा। 'आतिवाहिकसंज्ञोऽसौ . . . क्वचित्'। तथा। 'प्रेतपिण्डैस्तथा . . . . स्वेन कर्मणा'।
p. 331 = 2/116/39*b*		—'प्रेतपिण्डैस्तदा . . . . . भार्गव'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। (Part of the 3rd quot. just above.)
p. 337 = 2/77/1*a*, 2*a*-*b*		—'अशौचे तु व्यतिक्रान्ते . . . . कर्तव्यस्तथैकवचनेन च'। इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरात्।
p. 339 = 1/147/2*b*-3*a*		—अत्र वत्सर इत्युपादानात् विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयमृताह इति पदं पूर्णसंवत्सरमृततिथिपरम्। तद् यथा वृषोत्सर्गमधिकृत्य विष्णुः (विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्?)। 'विषुवद्वितये चैव मृताहे . . . कारयेत्'। (V.D. reads शङ्करम् for कारयेत्)
p. 347 =		—तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'देशकाले . . . स्तदनन्तं प्रकीर्तितम्'।
p. 349 =		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'सीदते . . . . नरकायोपपद्यते'।
p. 350 = 2/76/22*b* = 3/341/4*a*	cf.	—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'पतनात् त्रायते यस्मात् पात्रं तस्मात् प्रचक्षते'।
p. 351 = 3/316/13*b*		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'यस्योपयोगि . . . तद्भवेत्'।
pp. 355-6=3/301/14*b*–28*a*		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अभयं . . . . सर्वं वा विष्णुदैवतम्'। (V.D. reads द्विजसत्तमाः for विष्णुदैवतम्)
p. 356 = 3/301/10*a*		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेऽपि। 'द्रव्यस्य नाम . . . . विधिरयं स्मृतः'। (V.D. omits the first line. Part of the 2nd quot. on p. 894 of Sm.T.)
p. 359 = 3/301/28*b*–34*a*, 35*a*–36*b*, 10*b*–11*b*, (cf.) 40*b* and 44*a*		—प्रतिग्रहविधानमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'भूमेः . . . . प्रदक्षिणम्'। . . . . 'करे . . . . प्रतिग्रहः'। . . . 'आरुह्य . . . . . दैवतम्'। . . . . . 'समापयेत्ततः . . . . . . नानादुर्गाण्यसौ द्विजः'।
p. 365 = 2/117/11*b*		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'छत्रोपानहदातारस्ते नराः स्वर्गगामिनः'।
p. 366 = 2/92/45*b*		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'तथौषधप्रदानेन विरोगस्त्वभिजायते'।
p. 371 = 3/301/28*a*		—'तज्ज्ञेयं . . . . . विष्णुदैवतम्' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनात्। (V.D. reads द्विजसत्तमाः for विष्णुदैवतम्)

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12. Vāstuyāgatattva

V.Y.T. V.D.
p. 418 = —तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'एकैकां देवतां...शतसंख्यन्तु होमयेत्'।

pp. 422-3 = —अत्र होमे मन्त्रानाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्। 'वास्तोष्पतेन... निवेदयेत्'।

13. Kṛtyatattva

K.T. V.D.
p. 436 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'विष्णुर्दिवा....नाहोरात्रं विचिन्तयेत्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 112 of T.T. and on pp. 103-4 of E.T.)

p. 471 = 2/52/56 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'सूतिकावासनिलया....तथा वलिः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 648 of J.T. and partly the same as that on pp. 252-3 of S.T.; V.D. has got the last two lines only.)

14. Devapratiṣṭhātattva

D.P.T. V.D.
p. 512 = 2/95/28-29 —यथा चाल्पधनानां.....पूजनमाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे प्रथम (द्वितीय?)-काण्डम्। 'पूजाकर्म वहिर्वेद्यां..... यस्मादल्पधनो नरः'। (V.D. reads पूजा कार्य्या वहिर्वेदौ.....यथाश्रद्धम्...तस्मादल्पधनो नरः।)

15. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. V.D.
p. 513 = 1/4/3*b*-4*a* —तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे प्रथमकाण्डम्। 'द्वादशाङ्गुलिकः ....धनुःसहस्रकः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 153 of T.T. V.D. reads...स्तद्द्वयं हस्त उच्यते।.....सहस्रिका।)

p. 514 = 2/117/11 —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'तडागकूपकर्त्तारस्तथा कन्याप्रदायिनः। छत्रोपानद्दातारस्ते नराः स्वर्गगामिनः'॥
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 365 of S.T.)

16. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. V.D.
p. 529 = 1/147/1*a*–3*a* —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'अश्वयुक्शुक्लपक्षस्य.....तस्मिन्नहनि कारयेत्'।
(V.D. reads आश्वयुक्कृष्णपक्षस्य पञ्चदश्यां नराधिप .....शङ्करम्. Partly the same as the quot. on p. 339 of S.T.)

p. 562 = —ततो 'गच्छध्वममराः...सुपूजिताः' इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयेण विसर्जयेत्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 381 of Sm.T.)

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17. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. V.D.

p. 618 = ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'प्रतिपाद्य . . . . महापातकजान्यपि' ।

p. 627 = 3/341/7*a*–9*a*, ——तथा च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'सुरवेश्म . . . . . शैलनिर्मित-
,, 322*a*–324*a*, मन्दिरे' । तथा । 'अकामः . . . . . तद्भवत्यल्पमेधसाम्'
,, 326*b*-327*a* तथा । 'पद्भ्यां . . . . . द्विजोत्तमाः' ।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 640 of M.T. V.D. omits the first two lines and reads the 5th, 6th and 7th lines differently.)

p. 628 = ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'यानं शय्यासनं . . . . . वह्निष्टोम-
फलं नरः' ।

pp. 628–30 = 3/341/48, ——विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे तृतीयकाण्डे । 'विष्णोरायतने . . . . .
,, 52*b*-53*a* संवत्सरानपि' । 'विष्णोः शङ्ख . . . . . लोकमाप्नुयात्' ।
,, 53*b*, 54*a*, ('मानुष्यमासाद्य तथा ख्यातशब्दश्च जायते' ।) 'घण्टा
,, 60, 61, 62, ... शतमाप्नुयात्' । 'सौभाग्यं . . . . . प्रददद्धरेः' ।
,, 65*b*, 'वितानक . . . . यत्राभिजायते' । 'दत्त्वा . . . . पृथिवी
,, 71*a*, 71*b*, यतः' । 'यः कुम्भं . . . . . प्रमुच्यते' । 'कमण्डलु-
,, 74*b*, प्रदानेन . . . . . माप्नुयात्' । *'पतद्गृह . . . . मपो-
,, 75*a*, 75*b*, हति' । *'पादुकानां . . . . त्यनुत्तमाम्' । 'दर्पणस्य
,, 76*a*, ... दर्पवान् भवेत्' । 'दर्शयित्वा . . . . . त्वभि-
,, 76*b*, 85*b*, जायते' । 'कुप्यदो . . . दुर्लभम्' । 'नरः सुवर्ण . . . .
,, 86*a*, 86*b*- नुपाश्नुते' । 'नरदानेन . . . . . प्रामाण्यमुपगच्छति' ।
,, 87*a*, 22*b*, 'परलोक . . . . पयस्विनीम्' । 'अनड्वहः . . . . दशधेनु-
,, 116*b*, 117*a*, फलं लभेत्' । 'शय्यासन . . . . शाश्वतीम्' । 'उत्तर-
,, 121*b*-122*a*, च्छद . . . नवाप्नुयात्' । 'देववेश्मो . . . मवाप्नुयात्' ।
,, 122*b*, 123*a*- 'प्रेक्षणीय . . . . मवाप्नुयात्' । 'यानवाहन . . . धुर्यं
,, 124*b*, 126*b*- लभेत्' । 'शिविकां . . . . न्त्यमरावतीम्' । 'राजा
,, 127*a*, 127*b*- . . . . रिपुजिद्भवेत्' । 'तालवृन्त . . . . प्राप्नुयात्परां'
,, 128*a*, 'तथा चामर . . . विचरत्यमरप्रभुः' । 'माल्याधारं . . .
,, 131 पात्रतां व्रजेत्' । 'समुद्रजात . . . धनस्य च' । 'गन्ध-
तैलादि . . . . सह मोदते' ।
(M.P.T. omits the bracketed portion which is supplied here from V.D. and which occurred in the former originally, as is evident from its accompanying prose comment. V.D. omits the two quot., marked with asterisk and reads the second line of v. 62 as स लोकमाप्नोति नरो वारुणं गतकल्मषः for वारुणं लोकमाप्नोति सर्वपापः प्रमुच्यते ।).

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REVIEW OF BOOKS

EXCAVATIONS AT BRAHMAPURI (KOLHAPUR), 1945-46. By Drs. H. D. Sankalia and M. G. Dikshit, Poona, 1952. Deccan College Monograph Series 5: pp. 154: plates xxxv: one map: text illustrations 29. Price Rs.30.

In the monograph under review, Dr. Sankalia gives, in association with Dr. M. G. Dikshit, an interesting account of the excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur), conducted in 1945-46 by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute.

Brahmapuri, on the western outskirts of the city of Kolhapur, has given a firm datum line for the study of cultures that preceded and followed the culture of the Śātavāhanas in Deccan. It was Professor Kundangar who opened the archaeological possibilities of Kolhapur by his discoveries of a Graeco-Roman statuette representing Poseidon (the Roman God of the Sea), bronze vessels, a toy-cart and other objects. On examining Prof. Kundangar's finds, Dr. Wheeler observed that Kolhapur would become a key-site for understanding Roman influence on Indian culture of the Andhra period. His prophecy has come true. Drs. Sankalia's and Dikshit's explorations in 1945 and 1946, which form the subject-matter of the book under review, give the history of Kolhapur for over 2,000 years. It was a city of well-built brick houses through which the Pañchagangā river flowed when Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (106–130 A.D.) was the Śātavāhana ruler of the Deccan. The city was, of course, a century or two older than Gautamīputra. From coins found we infer that the other ruling families known to Kolhapur were Mahāraṭhis, Kuras and Cuṭus. The city had established trade contacts with the Roman world like several other cities on the east and west coast of the Deccan. Roman objects, coins and bronze vessels which were imported were imitated in clay. The Śātavāhana hold on Kolhapur ended when Kolhapur was destroyed by fire during the reign of Yajña Śātakarṇi. The city was soon re-occupied and coins and pottery assignable to the post-Śātavāhana period revealed the second phase in Kolhapur activity. The early Śātavāhana brick houses are marked by debris of temporary structures, also of brick. After this post-Śātavāhana period, there was a lull and the site does not appear to have been re-settled till about the 11th century A.D. when the Śilāhāras reigned round Kolhapur. Houses of this period were of poor fabric being made of mud bricks laid over rubble stone foundations. The Bahmanis reigned here between 1435 and 1518 A.D. and the houses of this period were similar to the Śilāhāra ones but were slightly superior. Both Drs. Sankalia and Dikshit have thrown very refreshing light on cottage industries of the site during the Bahmani period, and have shown that the Bahmani period at Kolhapur was remarkable for its progress in cottage industries. The mound at Brahmapuri was soon affected by a severe flood. In 1701 A.D. Aurangzeb filled with rubble the low-lying parts of the mound and constructed walls of boulders over the mound which resembled ramparts. The mound was not re-occupied until the advent of Christian missionaries in 1874.

The history of this interesting mound is dealt with in a highly scientific manner. After description of the excavation we have comments on the stratigraphy and description of coins, pottery, terra-cotta objects, bangles,

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tools, weapons, objects of stone, etc., recovered from the various layers. The last chapter entitled 'General Observations' lays due stress on the chronological and cultural importance of the finds and assigns a correct place to Kolhapur in the general context of Indian culture.

The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute deserves to be congratulated for not only undertaking the excavations, but also for having achieved so much within four months and for having published the results in a highly scientific manner.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.

ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar. (Motilal Banarsidass, Nepali Khapra, P.B. 75, Banaras, 1952. Rs.20.)

Dr. R. C. Majumdar intends the present work to serve the needs of the general reader, to be 'used as a preliminary handbook by more earnest students . . . before taking up specialized study in any branch of the subject' and incidentally to meet 'the requirements of the growing number of candidates for competitive examinations'. The book is more than a revised and enlarged edition of his *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization* (1927) and hence its title has been changed into *Ancient India*. It bears the stamp of Prof. Majumdar's mature scholarship, gives sufficient prominence to the cultural history of the country and presents in a good compass much relevant and readable matter. The treatment of the political history after Harshavardhana in Book III deserves special notice for its attempt to present an integral narrative of what is often presented as a jumble of unrelated episodes.

The work covers the ancient history of India down to about 1200 A.D. and is divided into three Books: from the earliest times to 600 B.C., 600 B.C. to 300 A.D. and 300 to 1200 A.D. The first and the second Books contain nine chapters each, while the third has twenty-two chapters giving a more detailed picture of the main currents of the history of the period from different points of view.

Dr. Majumdar begins with a description of the physical characteristics and sources of Indian history and the early peoples and civilization of India. He thinks that the Dravidians who were a Mediterranean people 'probably knew the art of writing, though we are not quite certain about it' (p. 16). The Indus civilization was not local and confined to Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, but its influence had perhaps spread as far as Patna in the east and Ambala in the north, and future discoveries 'may prove its extension almost all over Northern India' (p. 25). The pictographic script of the Indus valley was very probably the mother of the ancient Indian alphabet (p. 41). But it is perhaps too early to affirm, even with the reservations made by Dr. Majumdar, that 'the Sindhu valley civilization represents the Dravidian culture, and its authors belonged to the racial type commonly referred to as Dravidians' (p. 28). On an earlier page (p. 15) the author speaks rightly, as it seems, of the Mediterranean peoples speaking 'the Dravidian language now represented by Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayālam'.

Describing the different sections of Vedic literature Dr. Majumdar equates the Sūtras with the Vedāṅgas (p. 34); not all Sūtras, however, are Vedāṅgas nor Vedāṅgas Sūtras. The 'vital' distinction he tries to make between the two views of the mythological origin of the four castes, one that they were identical with the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the Puruṣa, and the other that they sprang from the respective limbs (p. 49)

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hardly finds support in the text of the Sūkta though Majumdar holds another view.

The Second Book begins with a short sketch of the political history of India between 600 B.C. and 300 A.D.; but one misses here a detailed and clear account of the sixteen *mahājanapadas*, the Śaiśunāgas and the Nandas. Little justice is done to Alexander when he is dismissed as 'only a precursor of Nadir Shah and Tamerlane' (p. 106) though elsewhere (p. 109) he is described as 'the greatest military genius the world has ever seen'. Aornos of the Assakenoi (p. 103) is left unidentified. Alexander's campaign, again, is said to have 'taxed the resources and ingenuity of Alexander to the utmost' (p. 104), but elsewhere we read 'the princelings of the Punjab can hardly be regarded as a fair match to Alexander' (p. 109). The author's view on the extension of the Mauryan empire as far down as Madura (p. 110) as well his acceptance of an early date for Manimekalai and *Śilappadikāram* (p. 204) hark back to outdated views of Tamil history that have been shown to be wrong by later research. Dr. Majumdar admits that in the 13th year of Aśoka's reign the Tamil kingdoms had regained their independence and that the southern boundary of the Empire was formed approximately by a line drawn from Nellore to the mouth of Kalyanapuri river on the western coast (p. 118). Linguists will have some difficulty in accepting the view that 'Aśoka's inscriptions (further) prove that there was one common language for the whole empire' (p. 119). Dr. Majumdar condemns Pushyamitra Śuṅga's 'foul treachery' (p. 121) presumably on the late evidence of Bāṇa, while he is at great pains to cast a doubt on the contemporary testimony not only of Bāṇa, but of Hiuen Tsang and the inscriptions when it concerns Śaśānka of Gauḍa and his murder of Rājyavardhana (p. 263). He places Kanishka's accession in A.D. 78 and dates the Śaka era from that event; but leaves the origin of the Vikrama era an open question (p. 136), and there is little but its novelty in support of his suggestion that Kṛta may have been the name of a liberator of the Mālavas from foreign yoke who gave his name to the era (p. 135). On the commencement of Śātavāhana rule and the connected question of the date of Khāravela of Kaliṅga Prof. Majumdar is content to state the rival views of scholars and leave the reader to make his own choice (pp. 138-9).

In Book II a chapter is devoted to political theory and administrative organization. It is a known fact that the ideals and character of the government and its organization were not the same throughout this fairly long period of 900 years, and so it is doubtful if treatises like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the *Manusmṛti* and *Śukranītisāra* could all be used simultaneously for a sketch of the polity intended to cover the whole period. In fact, Dr. Majumdar himself recognizes that the *Śukranīti* was 'a much later work (but probably embodying older traditions)' (p. 154). He says that 'the ideal form of government in ancient India was one in which the three elements, the king, the bureaucracy, and the people were all equally balanced and served as checks against one another' (p. 164). The suggestions that this finds its 'modern prototype' in the German government before the First World War, and that *mantris* and *mantriparishads* roughly correspond to modern executive and legislative councils as constitutional checks on royal authority (p. 162) are perhaps examples of a certain straining after far-fetched modern analogies which add little to the clarity or precision of the exposition.

The Third Book begins with a good account of the Gupta empire. Dr. Majumdar takes Samudragupta as far down as the 'famous Pallava kingdon of Kāñchī' along the east coast and thinks that he conquered the

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area with the help of a joint operation by the navy (p. 243), and this somewhat unusual reference to the Gupta navy is in strange contrast to the citation of an antiquated statement of R. C. Dutt that no Hindu navy swept the seas from China to Egypt at p. 505, where it is employed to reinforce a very questionable argument on the evils of the caste-system. He states that Vikramāditya was a title of both Samudragupta and Chandragupta II (p. 247) and doubts the historicity of Rāmagupta (p. 259). According to him the Huns were not so much responsible for the collapse of the Gupta empire as its internal dissensions (p. 258). In this Book we get also an account of the political history of North and South India between A.D. 600 and 1200 including many minor states and dynasties. The tripartite struggle between the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Pālas and the Gurjara Pratīhāras is dealt with in detail (pp. 298–304). Stress is laid on the fact that the results of Sultan Mahmūd's invasions of India were considerable and that Yāminī rule in the Punjab was the spearhead of the Muslim conquest of the North (pp. 329-30, and 366).

In the short chapters on political theory and public administration, and local self-government during this period, data drawn from different centuries and sources like the Gupta inscriptions, the Pāla inscriptions and the *Śukranīti* are used to build up a composite picture. Separate chapters are devoted to Religion, Literature, Education, Art and Architecture. Then follows a chapter entitled 'Degradation of Hindu Society', to which we shall return presently, and the Book ends with a short account of the Indian colonies in the Far East, though no account of Indian culture in Central Asia is attempted.

There is a comprehensive bibliography (though the date of publication of many books is not given) followed by identification of ancient places (4 pages) besides a general index, and twenty-four plates, but there are no maps or genealogies.

On some large and difficult questions relating to the general history of Indian culture Prof. Majumdar puts forward notable ideas. He seems to accept the view, probably first suggested by Pargiter, that there was a vast Kshatriya literature in ancient Sanskrit as distinguished from Brahmanical literature, that the Epics may be taken to represent the view-point of the Kshatriyas, and that 'although edited and retouched by the Brāhmaṇas at a later age, the Epics still retain their original characteristic to a great extent'. 'They clearly testify to the fact that the political power of the Kshatriyas had not yet been subordinated to the Brāhmaṇas as in a later age. This is a valuable historical truth, the importance of which cannot be overestimated' (p. 206). Pargiter's proposition has been vigorously called in question by many eminent Orientalists, but no one is precluded, on that account, from still cherishing it. We are more concerned with the 'valuable historical truth the importance of which cannot be overestimated' and which is said to be derived from 'the last remnant of a vast Kshatriya literature'. Was the *political power* of the Kshatriyas ever subordinated in India to the Brāhmaṇas? One may doubt this legitimately, and recall that shrewd critics like Sir Charles Eliot, the author of *Hinduism and Buddhism*, have laid stress on the Brāhmaṇas' wisdom in abstaining from seizing political power and confining themselves to things intellectual and spiritual in return for a subsistence allowance from society. If the reference is to the early conflicts between the classes before a final and settled sociology was reached, one gets far more information on this from Vedic literature proper and from the Smriti and Arthaśāstra literature—all Brahmanical—than from any other source. It has never been and perhaps it can never be demonstrated that the Epics also were

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not *ab initio* the work of the same class of Brahmanical writers. The most misguiding distortions of truth are apt to result from our reading into ancient history our own reactions to modern social and political situations; the distortions can be serious if this tendency is consciously indulged in; they are apt to be decidedly more so if the bias is unconscious. A common fallacy that results from this tendency is to identify the Brāhmaṇa with the Aryan, and then run down Aryan culture and discover in non-Aryans great virtues unknown to the Aryans. Thus Rāvaṇa is held to have 'towered head and shoulders above his opponents' in morality—an inference from a comparison between Lakshmaṇa's barbarous treatment of Rāvaṇa's sister Śūrpaṇakhā, and 'the conduct of the outraged non-Aryan chief to his captive lady' (p. 209). This is indeed an original way of deriving social history from the epic. Another example in the same line is the citation of the forcible stripping of Draupadī in open durbar as evidence of the degraded condition of women in Aryan society (p. 211)! Again, Prof. Majumdar affirms vaguely that at one time 'indeed it appeared as if the South would be as completely Aryanized as North India, and even the last vestige of Dravidian civilization would be extinguished altogether'. 'After a few centuries', it seems, 'there was national awakening and a distinct reaction in favour of the old order of things. The old language and literature was again assiduously cultivated' p. 221). One does not know how Prof. Majumdar arrives at this reconstruction of the past in the Tamil country, and would have been glad if he had specified the exact centuries which foreboded the danger of extinction to Dravidian culture, and the exact time of the 'national awakening' which warded it off.

Patriotism is another factor apt to disturb the balance of the historian. We have a passionate longing for Indian unity, and one wonders if it is not this longing that actuates Prof. Majumdar's estimate of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He writes: 'Kṛṣṇa was the first great statesman that grasped the vital political problem of India, viz., the unification of the small states of India into one great empire, and applied his truly remarkable genius to its solution. He rose above the narrow parochial patriotism which distinguished most men of his age, and steered the ship of the state cleverly through troubled waters' (p. 210). Unfortunately, he does not elucidate this new rôle for Kṛṣṇa as the most ancient and exalted forerunner of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel!

The chapter on 'Degradation of Hindu Society' (pp. 499–508) makes strange reading. The Brāhmaṇas and the caste-system they forged constitute the chief target of attack. Caste is viewed almost exclusively from the stand-point of the nineteenth century 'Indian Social Reformer' and long passages are quoted with approbation from *The History of Civilization in Ancient India* by R. C. Dutt which has now nothing in its favour except its unusually good English style. The truth that the 'caste-system' is peculiar to India and that the original class distinctions known among Iranians and other ancient Aryan peoples did not develop into a caste-system outside India would naturally suggest that there was something in the Indian milieu, possibly non- and pre-Aryan in its origin, which made for caste formation, and many modern investigators like Hutton have taken this line. But to Prof. Majumdar's line of thinking, there was 'a deliberate attempt towards making the system more and more rigid' (p. 91) and 'slowly but steadily the Brāhmaṇas managed to degrade the rest of society to a state of marked inferiority and subordination' (p. 501); he concedes, however, that 'the Brāhmaṇas alone cannot be held responsible for this lamentable state of things' (p. 503). Whatever be our attitude to caste today and the justification for it, historically caste has had a better

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rôle than merely to have contributed to India's degradation, and this side of the institution Prof. Majumdar more or less totally ignores. It is admittedly the most difficult task of the historian to account satisfactorily for the rise and fall of civilizations, and great writers like Fisher and Toynbee, to mention a couple that stand nearest to our time, have held diverse views about the laws of growth and decay in human history. Max Müller in his celebrated lectures on *India: What can it teach us?* drew a line at A.D. 1000 and held that before that date when India was left to herself, she was progressive in thought and prosperous in her economy, and that her troubles started when foreigners began to meddle with her. The illustrious Alberuni was also inclined to a somewhat similar view and made many shrewd observations which Prof. Majumdar has cited (p. 500) and which place the causes of the decline of Ancient Indian culture on a much broader ground. His lead, at any rate, if sufficiently pondered over might have saved the learned author from the fallacy of attributing large effects to single causes.

Some minor points may be noticed in conclusion. The bare mention of two short Aramaic inscriptions one from Taxila and the other from the Jalalabad district (p. 113) brings no light to the reader without more details. That Aśoka became a Bhikshu (p. 114) and continued to rule the kingdom is not likely, though V. A. Smith gave currency to the notion which is against the rules and practice of the Order. Aśoka is said to have engraved the doctrines of Buddha 'on rocks, pillars, and caves, throughout his vast dominions' (p. 115). Bomba Moriyar (at p. 142) must be Vamba Moriyar. Karikāla's successful invasion of Ceylon (p. 143) is a late myth unknown to authentic early sources. Bhadrabāhu is called a *Thera* (p. 179) though the more usual way of referring to him is as 'Śrutakevalin'. At p. 184 the correct form Śatarudiya becomes Sātarudriya (which is wrong) a few lines later. Harshavardhana is said to have known 'a great deal of China even before he met Hiuen Tsang' (p. 268) though no evidence earlier than A.D. 641 is cited. *Causus belli* occurs at p. 278 for *Casus belli*. The opponents of Prithivishena II Vākāṭaka from whom he saved his kingdom twice are surmised to have been his collaterals of the Vatsagulma branch (p. 287), though the evidence points to the Nalas, and not the Vatsagulma Vākāṭakas. The doubt cast on the scene of battle between Harshavardhana and Pulakeśin II usually located on the Narmadā (p. 290) will be set at rest by a perusal of the text of the Aihole record. Dharmapāla is said to have consecrated himself at Kanauj in the presence of many kings assembled there (p. 300); the fact was that he consecrated his nominee Chakrāyudha to the throne of Kanauj. Kṛṣṇa III's conquests in Chedi of Kālanjar and Chitrakūṭa (pp. 306 and 310) are not facts, but the results of a misunderstanding of a verse in an inscription of Kṛṣṇa: likewise his pillar of victory in Rāmeśvaram (p. 393) rests only on the authority of the spurious Sudi plates. Bhojpur city is mentioned (p. 347) while the better known lake is not mentioned. Taila I of Bādāmi is referred to (p. 394) without any indication that he was an obscure prince of the collateral line who did not reign and whose existence may not be historical. Yādava Bhillama is said to have defeated Kulottunga III (p. 401). The Chola Kingdom 'was swept away' by Malik Kafur in 1310 (p. 437) though it had been 'completely destroyed' by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 1251–1268 (p. 439). In fact, the Chola kingdom came to an end in 1279. The Pāṇḍya king who impaled 8,000 Jainas is called Sundara (p. 458) though tradition calls him Neḍumāṟan. *Mukundamālā*, 'a Sanskrit poem' is listed with *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi* under Tamil literature (p. 479).

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The form Kannada (p. 479) must be Kannaḍa. The painting at Śittannavāśal held once to be of the time of Pallava Mahendravarman I (p. 497) is now seen to be later and more probably of Pāṇḍya origin.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY. By P. Saran. Ranjit Printers and Publishers. Delhi, 1952. Pp. 255. Price Rs.4-8-0.

This is a collection of ten essays based upon the author's lectures to his Post-Graduate classes, some of these which were previously published in various journals having been revised and enlarged for the purpose of the present volume. As a whole this work bears upon it the stamp of deep scholarship combined with striking originality of thought. The author's examination of original sources (both published and unpublished) is thorough, his judgments are normally sound and his style is lucid and vigorous.

In the first essay, the author attempts a critical estimate of the peculiar social and political system of the mediaeval and modern States of Rajputana, which Tod somewhat loosely identified with the feudal system of mediaeval Europe. The author's enumeration of the resemblances and differences between the two systems is on the whole accurate, though it is somewhat strange that he mentions under the former head admitted differences as regards the law of escheat and of fines for alienation. When, however, he complains (p. 2) that the Rajput system 'has so far received next to no attention from our historians', he forgets the very important contribution made by Baden-Powell, a leading British authority, who was the first to apply to it the title of clan-monarchy (*Land-systems of British India*, Vol. I, p. 250f. and *Indian Village Community*, p. 196f.). The author's statement (p. 4) about the absence of any trace of feudal institutions among the Rajput dynasties before the 16th century is belied by the contemporary epigraphic evidence, which was brought forward for the first time by the present reviewer (*Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 236, 241, 259-60; *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 53-4, 56-7, 66-8), of references to clan-chiefs' estates and their holdings (of the normal size of 84 villages) in the annals of Rajput Dynasties in Northern and Western India between the 10th and the 11th centuries.

The four essays (II–IV) on Sher Shah are of first-rate importance. The author while rightly (though sometimes severely) rejecting the opinions of well-known scholars in the field, like Mr. W. H. Moreland and Professor K. R. Quanungo, throws valuable light upon various points in the Afghan hero's career. These comprise the date and place of Sher Shah's birth, the order of incidents of his early life, the administrative organization of his empire, his land-revenue arrangements and the state of his finances.

Less original, but of much greater interest, is Essay VII which deals with the origin and development of the Jizyah, the much-discussed poll-tax levied upon 'non-believers' in Muslim States. Here the author first recapitulates (pp. 113–27) how the theory of this tax was interpreted by Muslim divines of different schools and shades of opinion and how this theory was applied in actual practice by Muslim rulers specially in India. The author next shows (pp. 128–131) on the authority of the late Muhammad Ali that the relevant Quranic text (ix. 29) does not warrant imposition of the tax upon all non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim State in

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peace-time, just as another text (ii. 190) permits fighting (*jehad*) only for self-defence. This leads him to condemn in the strongest terms the jurists who 'have done great injustice both to the Quran and the Prophet' (p. 131) and the Muslim monarchs who misunderstood 'these innocuous injunctions' 'to gratify their selfish political ends and to achieve their imperialistic ambitions' (p. 132). The author concludes (pp. 137–39) with a just, though severe, condemnation of 'a new class of scholars' who attempt to justify the tax as being dictated by altruistic motives.

In a long and valuable essay (VIII) the author gives us on the basis of the somewhat confused account of Ziauddin Barani an admirably lucid and full exposition of the economic policy of Sultan Alauddin Khalji along with a critical estimate of its underlying motives and its resulting consequences. In the course of this survey he effectively disposes (p. 159) of the superficial plea that Alauddin was inspired by the laudable motive of improving the condition of his subjects and in particular of combating the inflation of commodity prices caused by the influx of the Deccan plunder into Delhi. He also ably discusses (pp. 162–65) the analogy which has been loosely drawn by some writers between the Sultan's price-control policy and that of the British rulers in India during the last Great War. His own conclusions are summed up in the statement (p. 182) that 'it was a thoroughly irrational, ill-conceived and artificial system' 'intended primarily for the benefit of the Government and resulting in incalculable misery of the people who happened to fall directly or indirectly under its heel'.

In the next essay (IX) the author examines with his usual thoroughness the north-western frontier policy of the Delhi Sultans in the context of their two-fold problem caused by the inveterate hostility of the Khokhars and the rise of the formidable Mongol power under Chingiz Khan. But the somewhat sweeping judgment (p. 190) with which he introduces his discussion, viz. that the new rulers unlike their Rajput predecessors were wide awake to the gravity of the frontier problem is belied in a large measure by his own narrative. From this we learn how a definite policy of frontier defence was begun only by Nasiruddin, how Balban who followed in his wake marred its advantages by his suicidal policy of destroying all rivals for the safety of his dynasty, how Jalaluddin failed to take any effective steps to meet the Mongol invasion or the Khokhar menace and lastly, how Alauddin, on awaking from his supineness after the first seven or eight years of his reign, betrayed a lack of strategy and tactics comparable to that of the Rajput princes on the eve of their collapse before the Turkish onslaught (pp. 204, 209, 211-12, 221).

In the last essay (X) the author presents us with a valuable account of the mutual rivalries of the two rival factions at the court of Sultan Nasiruddin, viz. the Turkish aristocracy led by the masterful Balban and the Indians (both Hindu and Muslim) headed by the much-maligned Raihan. This leads him to reject the biassed and wholly one-sided view of Minhaj about the two leaders as well as the Sultans Nasiruddin and Balban —a view which has vitiated the judgment of almost all later historians who have drawn upon and even improved the account of the Muslim chronicler.

This important work is unfortunately marred by a number of misprints for which the author offers an apology in his Preface.

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THE BAHMANIS OF THE DECCAN: An Objective Study. By Haroon Khan Sherwani. The Manager of Publications, Saood Manzil, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1953. Price Rs.15 or £1-10 or $6.

The history of the Deccan has attracted the attention of historians less than that of Northern India and this is particularly true of the Muslim period. In the last century Briggs' *Firishta* was almost the only work in English on the subject. The late Major J. S. King published English translation of portions of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* and the *Tazkiratu'l-Mulūk* in the *Indian Antiquary* (1899) which were afterwards published as a book entitled *The History of the Bahmanī Dynasty* (London, 1900). The late Sir Wolseley Haig completed the translation of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* in the *Indian Antiquary* (1920–1923) and wrote the chapters on the Deccan in the *Cambridge History of India* besides a monograph: *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan* (Allahabad, 1907). This is almost all that we had of works written in English on the Deccan history. J. D. B. Gribble's *History of the Deccan* in 2 vols. (London, 1896) is uncritical and mainly based on *Elliot and Dowson*. Two theses on the 'Ādil-Shāhī Kingdom of Bījāpūr yielded Ph.D. degree of London and Calcutta Universities for their authors but they have not been published. Several works on the Deccan history exist in Urdū (*The Wāqi'āt-i-Mamlukat-i-Bījāpūr*, by Bashīru'd-dīn Aḥmad, Agra, 1915, is a voluminous one) but one has to confess that most of them are uncritical accounts and do not conform to modern standards of historical investigation.

It is, therefore, a matter of great relief that an eminent scholar like Prof. H. K. Sherwani has made the Deccan history his favourite theme. He was, we believe, behind the publication of the text of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* by the Persian Texts Society of Hyderābād-Deccan (Silsilah-i-makhṭūṭāt-i-fārisīyah, No. 2, 1936). In 1941 appeared his scholarly work on Maḥmūd Gāwān. This was followed by the publication of his brochure, *The Bahmanī Kingdom* (National Information and Publication, Ltd., Bombay, 1947). The book under review, published last year, is the result of his long study begun in connection with his work on Maḥmūd Gāwān.

It is not easy to make historical works of research interesting and it is not unoften that a work of superior scholarship (e.g. Julius Wellhausen's remarkable book, *The Arab Kingdom and its fall*) tends to become an uninteresting study. The book under review, though a work of research, is written in a pleasant style. The author has relegated all controversial points to footnotes and he has placed these notes and cited the authorities at the end of each chapter so that they may not mar the continuity of his narrative and annoy the general reader who does not possess specialized knowledge of the subject. Almost in every chapter there are sections on cultural aspects of the reign or the period under review, and the author has fully discussed the process of cultural synthesis in various phases. This lends additional charm to the pleasant volume. The author's claim that it is an objective study is no empty boast. He is one of those Indian scholars (the number is not very large) who are not carried by zeal or prejudice and he is one of the very few Muslim writers of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent who write as a historian and not as a Muslim.

The work is based on all sorts of original sources, literary, numismatic and epigraphic. The author has very thoroughly examined and reconstructed the chronology of Bahmanī history. On the basis of epigraphic and numismatic evidence he has been able to fix the year 1538 as the date of the extinction of the dynasty. He has conclusively overthrown the legend of the Brāhman Gangū and regards the founder of the dynasty

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as a descendant or connected with the family of the Kākway'hids (Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 145) who ruled in Iṣfahān, Hamadān and Nahāwand from 1007 to 1051 on the basis of the statement of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī who calls Ḥasan a 'Kākuyah'. It is on this foundation that court historians afterwards glorified Ḥasan by connecting him with the Persian dynasty of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. This explanation is quite reasonable and seems more convincing than that of Maulavī 'Abdu'l Wali (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 463) and others who regard the word 'Kākuyah' as a corruption of Kaikāūs, the name of Ḥasan's father as given by Firishta and 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā. Nevertheless, the more cautious of the historians would not consider the matter as finally settled.

It is significant that while Muḥammad Tughluq (1325–1351) towards the end of his reign sought recognition from that *roi faiñeant*, the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt and dropped his own name from the khutba and the coins and inserted that of the Caliph and his successor Fīrūz Tughluq (1351–1388) twice received khil'at and diploma of rulership from the Cairene Caliph and styled himself Nā'ibu'l Amiru'l-mu'minīn and Khalīfa'i Amīru'l-mu'minīn, the second Bahmanī Sulṭān Muḥammad I (1358–1375) whose mother had brought for him recognition as King of the Deccan from Caliph al-Mu'taẓid-bi'llāh drops the Caliph's name from his coins which refer to him as 'Protector of the religion of the Prophet of the Merciful God'. The Bahmanids did away with the fiction of Caliphal sovereignty much earlier than the Sulṭāns of Delhi where even the Lodīs continued to call themselves Nā'ib or Khalīfa of the Amīru'l-mu'minīn.

Muḥammad I is the founder of the Bahmanī polity. It is interesting to note that the Mansabdārī system, which is a peculiar institution of the Mughuls, did obtain in some form in the Bahmanī State and it was systematized by Aḥmad I (1422–1436). The Mughul system was, of course, much more elaborate and complex.

Arresting is the personality of Fīrūz Shāh (1397–1422) whose harem was international and whose learning was prodigious and linguistic equipment wonderful. Of the many Indian languages that he knew well Bengali was one. The author has well drawn his portrait and given a critical review of his reign. The climax of Bahmanī history is the Age of Maḥmūd Gāwān and the author is at his best in dealing with this portion. The tragic end of the great minister is the beginning of the end of the Bahmanī empire. The conflict of races, particularly of the Gharību'd-diyār or Afāqis and the Deccanis, more accurately, of the New-comers and Old-comers, was the running sore in the body politic of the Bahmanids. The great Maḥmūd Gāwān had maintained the equilibrium by a policy of balance of power between the two groups. This political equilibrium was upset after his death and the empire foundered mainly on the chronic civil war born of this conflict. The author has ably summed up the various factors that led to the collapse of the vast empire.

Prof. Sherwani has very carefully assessed the value of his original sources. He is the first to utilize the Riyāzu'l-Inshā containing the letters of Maḥmūd Gāwān. He has particularly put the reputed Firishta to a severe test. As a result we find two Firishtas—the historian of the Deccan and the historian of Hindūstān; the first is credulous and is a partisan; the second is a neutralist who can view to a certain extent dispassionately the affairs of the North from the Deccan scene. The author has attempted with considerable ability a vindication of Humāyūn the Zālim who, he feels, 'has been more sinned against than sinning'. Yet one would feel that Prof. Sherwani has been rather hard on the great historian of medieval India, whose reputation travelled even in the eighteenth century as far as

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Lausanne. At page 437 he refers to a fact related by Firishta that 'Firoz Shah had sexual intercourse with as many as 800 women in one night!' The sentence in Firishta (*Newul Kishore text*, Vol. 1, p. 309 and Bombay text, vol. 1, p. 592), if I have been able to find the portion referred to by Prof. Sherwani, is as follows:

و هر روز بیکی ازین محلها رفته با ایشان نوعی زندگانی مینمود که
هر یک از عورات محلها دعوی آن میکردند که شاه ما را دوستتر میدارد.

It does not necessarily mean what Prof. Sherwani states. Briggs' free rendering: 'He divided his attention so equally among them, that each lady fancied herself most beloved by the King' does not altogether miss the sense. Following Briggs and Mohl the author states that Firishta 'was born at Ashkabad in 1552' but, as Prof. Storey has pointed, neither the date nor the place of his birth seems to be known (*Persian Literature*, p. 442, n. 2).

Of typographical errors in the book, there is no dearth; they are too many to be pointed out. For the author, who writes *Krishna, Madhya Pradesh, Narmada* would be preferable to *Narbada* (p. 28). Copious footnotes, chronological and genealogical tables, a comprehensive bibliography and a map showing the growth of the Bahmanī empire add to the merits of the book but it is extremely regrettable that it is without an index. All these minor shortcomings can be easily removed in the second edition of the valued work.

We congratulate Prof. H. K. Sherwani on the publication of this illuminating study which is a remarkable contribution to our country's history. We now know all that we need know about the Bahmanīs of the Deccan.

SUKUMAR RAY.

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ROYAL CHARTERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By SUKUMAR SEN

(*Paper received on 20th January, 1954*)

The oldest written matter in India yet known are the edicts of Aśoka and one or two contemporaneous short inscriptions. Since the days of Aśoka inscriptions inscribed on stone or metal or cast in metal or clay, so far discovered, are not meagre. Outside India quite a good number of official documents and private correspondence, written in Chinese ink on wood, leather, silk or paper have been recovered from Chinese Turkestan (the Niya documents). From a study of all these documents written in various Middle Indo-Aryan dialects and Sanskrit it is possible to have an idea of the nature and production of administrative documents in ancient India including its foreign settlements. Such an attempt has been made in this paper.

A written communication, letter or any written matter, was generally known as *lipi* (Aśokan only) or *lekha* (also 'likhitaga' or 'lihitaga' i.e. *likhitaka* in Niya). In the Niya documents a reply is 'pratilekha' and a memorandum or note 'hasta-lekha' (which can be compared to old Gujarati 'ciṭhī'[1] and Bengali 'hāt-ciṭhā' or 'karacā'). The nature of 'hasta-lekhā' can be easily understood from some of the documents; e.g. 'yo atra k'ema hasta-lekha udaga-bhiśasa prace syati athava levistarena anati-lekha hachati' (160) 'whatever memorandum regarding *udayabīja* there may be or if there be a written order in detail.'

A sovereign's command was *śāsana, anuśāsana* or *anuśasti*, and a verbal order was *vacana* (Dhauli separate rock edict I and the pillar edicts of Aśoka) or *rāja-vacanika* ('samāpāyaṃ mahamatā lājavacanika vataviyā' 'in Samāpā the officers should be told the verbal order of the king' Jaugada separate rock edict II). The common term for a sovereign's direct and formal order was *ājñapti*, and such a writ in the Niya documents is mentioned as 'anati-lekha' (i.e. *ājñapti-lekha*). A reproduced or reported order from the king or a direct order from a regent or a governor was *vijñapti* (as in the Niya, and in the edicts of Aśoka's queen: 'tāye deviye se nāni hevaṃ vinati'), and such an order, when written, was 'vinati-lekha' or 'viṃñati-lekha'(i.e. *vijñapti-lekha*) in the Niya documents.

The term *nibandha* indicated an approved or registered formally drawn up document, and in this sense *pusta* in the word *pustapāla* also occurs sporadically (in the east) from the fifth-sixth century. According to the following quotation in Sarvānanda's commentary on *Amarakoṣa* 'pusta' stood for a document inscribed on clay, stone, metal, wood, cloth or leather.

mṛdā vā dāruṇā vātha vastreṇāpyatha carmaṇā |
loharatnaiḥ kṛtaṃ vāpi pustam ity abhidhīyate ||

A *pustapāla* was either a scribe or a record-keeper or both. The *pustakṛt* (*Harṣacarita*) was indeed a calligrapher scribe.

A fiat or decree had been regularly called 'pravaṃnaga' in Niya. It is taken as derived from *prapannaka*. But it can be better derived from

[1] Occurring in *Namaskāra Bālāvabodha* (written in the early fifteenth century) by Hemahaṃsa-gaṇī.

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**pravarṇaka*. The verb *pravarṇay* in *Mahābhārata* means 'to communicate', and this sense agrees better with the sense of 'parwānā', the modern Iranian (Persian) form of Niya 'pravaṃnaǵa'. The word 'vaṇana', i.e. *varṇana* in a Nasik cave inscription of Vāsiṭhīputta Pulumāvi ('viṇhupālena svāmivaṇana ṇata') perhaps is a cognate in both derivation and meaning.

A charter or grant had many names: *śāsana*, *śāsanapaṭṭa*, *paṭṭa*, *śāsanapaṭṭikā*, *paṭṭikā*, and, when written on copperplate, *tāmrapaṭṭa*, *tāmrapaṭṭikā*, *tāmraśāsana*. The word *paṭṭakīla* meaning 'one holding land by royal charter' appears in very late Sanskṛit (*Vetālapañcaviṃśati*) and it is the source of the Gujarati surname 'Patel'. Originally it must have meant 'an edict or grant written on wedgeshaped piece of wood' as in most of the Niya documents. In these documents the term 'kilamudra' is frequent. There it means an order (under seal), but the original sense was a document under seal written on wedgeshaped piece of wood.

A grant was made usually on request but sometimes of a king's own accord. This fact was often recorded in the grants. Thus in Nasik cave inscriptions: 'aviyena āṇataṃ' (= *abījena ājñaptam*). Before a charter or grant was formally drawn up or calligraphically written a cursive draft of the nature of 'hasta-lekha' was drawn up. This is known from early inscriptions. Thus in a Nasik cave inscription: 'amacena sivagutena chato' (= *amātyena śivaguptena kṣataḥ*; written by the minister Śivagupta). In the copperplate inscriptions from the days of the Guptas the officer who was responsible for the grant had been called *dūta(ka)* [1] and he was either a royal prince or a minister plenipotentiary (*sāndhivigrahika*). When the order came from the sovereign direct the fact found place in the record. Thus: 'sayamāṇataṃ', 'aṇattī saya', 'samuhāṇṇatti', (= *ājñā svayam*, *svamukhājñā*, *svamukhājñaptyā*).

Some of the Nasik cave inscriptions are copies of grants, and one of them (year 24 of Gotamiputa Sātakaṇi) is the copy of a grant issued by a queen-mother (regent?). The queen-mother's order was drawn up by a lady-in-waiting Loṭā: 'paṭihārarakhiya loṭāya chato lekho'. This accords well with the functions of a *pratīhārarakṣī* as indicated in the description of Indumatī's *svayaṃvara* by Kālidāsa.

The final approval or endorsement of a formally written document sometimes was indicated in the early inscriptions by 'diṭhaṃ' or *dṛṣṭam*, and in post-Gupta inscriptions by 'ni' (= *nija*). A king's signature is found once only and that in the Banskhera copperplate inscription of Harṣa: *svahasto mama mahārājādhirāja-śrīharṣasya*.

The affixation of the seal in copperplate grants appears regularly from the days of the Guptas. Before that the attachment of the seal was an almost invariable feature in charters and orders issued by a corporate authority (including religious communities), a regent or a provincial governor. The earliest specimen of an order under seal is the Sohgaura copperplate inscription, and it was issued by the Mahāmārga (= Mahāyāna?) community of Śrāvastī. Next comes the Hīrahaḍagalli copperplate inscription and it was issued by the crown prince (*Yuvamahārāja*) Śivaskandavarman. Other instances are Poona copperplate inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā, a regent; Mallasārul copperplate inscription of Vijayasena, a vassal. The Faridpur copperplate inscriptions of Vatsapālasvāmī (an official, *viniyuktaka*) and of Jajāva (a district officer, *viṣayapati*) contain the seal of the Administrative Office (*adhikaraṇa*) of the district (*viṣaya*) of Vārakamaṇḍala.

[1] ... called, at least once, *ājñā-dāpaka* (Fleet, *Corpus*, III, p. 100 f.n.). For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Taponath Chakravarti.

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The Niya documents under seals were issued either by a *Bhikṣu* community (e.g. 'eṣa mutra kr(oraina) bhīcḥusaṃghaṣa' 489) or by a corporation of two or more individuals (e.g. 'eṣa mutra śramaṃna śaṃca-sujata-dhamilaṣa ca' 419) or by a crown prince (e.g. 'eṣa muṃdra kala-puṃñabalaṣa' 331). *Bhikṣu* community seals are not unknown in India proper; e.g. *śrīviṣṇu-dvīpavihāre bhikṣusaṃghasya*; *mahāparīnirvāṇe cāturdiśo bhikṣusaṃghaḥ*.[1]

The name of the engraver generally appears at the end of the copper-plate grants. In stone inscriptions, however, it is not so regular a feature. Among Aśokan inscriptions only the Mysore minor rock edicts once bear the name of the scribe (*lipikaṛa*) Capaḍa. The name as well as the preceding matter is written in Brahmi but the last word ('lipikareṇa') appears in Kharoṣṭhi. This indicates that Capaḍa was at home in both scripts.

In the Aśokan inscription the verb *likh* indicated both writing and inscribing. Later it indicated generally only writing, and then inscribing was often indicated by the verbs *kṛ*-, *kṛṣ*- and *kī*-. Thus: 'tāpasena kaṭā'; 'sujivinā kaṭā'; 'paṭṭikā kaḍa tti'; '*utkīrṇaṃ stambheśvaradāsena*; *cakradāsena utkaṭṭitam*.[2] 'Lekhaka' indicated both writer and inscriber. A writer of documents was sometimes called *kṣatrika* (<*kṣata*> 'chata', as in the Bhamodra-Mahota copperplate inscription: *likhitaṃ saṣṭhidatta-putreṇa kumārila-kṣatrikena*) or 'divira' (as in Niya) or *pustakṛt* (as in *Harṣacarita*) or *pustapāla* (as in later Gupta inscriptions). A *pustapāla* probably had the double function of document writing and record keeping. *Divira* is the later form of north-western Aśokan 'dipikara' an Iranian loan word.

The 'pravaṃnaǵa' or decrees in Niya bear names of officers whose function was 'cutting the thread' regarding the documents. Thus: 'sutra chinida toṃga śāṃcā nama' (571, 589); 'sutra cinida yatma molṕina nama' (581); 'satriśa avitama sutra chiṃnitanti' (209); 'yava vo pramana sūtra cinita' (598). The function was really the execution of the decree or order. Originally a writ, composed of several tablets or scrips were fastened with a piece of cord, with or without a seal, and the duty of the officer was to cut the cord, read out the decree and put it into execution. Letters also were thus fastened by string or cord. In this connection the following description of a king's messenger in *Harṣacarita* is illuminating:—

atha tenānīyamānam atidūragamanaguru-jaḍajaṅghaṃ kārdamikacela-cirikāniyamitoccaṇḍacaṇḍātakaṃ pṛṣṭhapreṅkhatpaṭaccarakarpaṭaghaṭitagalita-granthim atinividasūtrabandhanimnitāntarālakṛtavyavacchedayā lekhamālikayā parikalitamūrdhānaṃ praviśantaṃ lekhahārakam adrākṣīt.

(= Now (the poet) saw the lettercarrier as he was coming up, being ushered by (the poet's man); his legs were heavy and stiff by the very long treck; his loose-fitting cloak was wrapped close with a muddy strip torn from his clothes; a bundle of old and worn garments, loosely knotted, was hanging on his back; his head was crowned by a string of letters arranged unevenly, being pulled down by the very tight fastening of cord.)

A letter, specially a king's writ, was always carried on the head either as a chaplet or pushed inside the turban. It was usually fastened with a cord and sealed. The recipient would cut the cord, read the writ and act accordingly. Hence * *sūtraccheda* came to stand for the execution of a royal decree.

Bāṇa's *lekhahāraka* appears in the Niya documents as 'leharaǵa'.

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 994, pl. III.

[2] 'utkaṭṭita' has resulted from contamination between 'utkīrṇa' and 'kaṭṭita' (<* *kṛṣṭita*).

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DAULAT KAZI AND HIS LANGUAGE

By SATYENDRANATH GHOSHAL

(Communicated by Dr. Sukumar Sen)

(*Paper received on 20th January, 1954*)

The greatest Muslim poet of early middle Bengali literature is Daulat Kazi. He wrote his half-finished solitary work 'Satī mayanā, or Lor Candrāṇī'[1] in the royal court of Arakan sometime during the reign of Thi-ri-Thu-dhamma (1622–1638)[2] sanskritized into Śrī Sudharma by the poets of the seventeenth century[3]. This king of Arakan had an astrological prediction hanging over his head that he would die within a year after his coronation.[4] He, therefore, deferred his coronation for twelve years.[5] His coronation was celebrated in 1635 after certain grisly rites including human sacrifice.[6] Now, there is internal evidence in Daulat's work that he wrote his portion of the book while king Śrī Sudharma was still an uncrowned king.[7] This naturally narrows down the range of our conjecture as to time of its composition by at least three years. This means that the book must have been composed sometime between 1622 and 1635. The half-done work of Daulat was taken up for completion by the most widely known Muslim poet of the seventeenth century, Ālāol, something like a quarter of a century after Daulat who died in the midst of his great work.

Of the 198 pages in which the book *Satī Mayanā* is complete,[8] only 103 pages were composed by Daulat Kazi, and the rest is the work of Ālāol. Daulat's story is free from any religious colouring, being thus the precursor of a new era of pure romance in Bengali literature.[9] Besides, his story is primarily realistic and predominantly human. There is no room for doubt as to genuine poetry in his work, and the mellow plaintive note of wailings of the lovelorn soul of Mayanā gives it a charm, almost new in medieval Bengali literature outside the pale of Vaiṣṇava lyrics.

The language of Daulat's Satī Mayanā is the standard Bengali of his time, predominantly Sanskritic except in the portions where the poet has indulged in Muslim theology, where some unfamiliar words of Perso-Arabic origin are noticeable. The only portion where the poet has discussed Muslim

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[1] *Bāṅgālā Sāhityera Itihāsa*, Vol. I, S. Sen, pp. 564-565.
[2] *History of Burma*, Harvey, p. 144.
[3] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 4, 105.
[4] *History of Burma*, Harvey, p. 144.
[5] Ibid., p. 145.
[6] Ibid., p. 144, f.n.
[7] Mahārāja āyu-śeṣa jāni śuddha mana |
tāna haste rāja nīti kalya samarpaṇa || *Satī Mayanā*, pp. 5-6.
(The pure-hearted king having known that his life would come to an end, transferred the kingdom and law to his (i.e. minister *Aśraph Khān's*) hands.)
[8] This discussion is principally based on the two printed editions of *Satī Mayanā*, one published by the Hāmidī Press and the other by the Gāṅchiyā Library. The first named edition is complete in 198 pages and the second in 164 pages. In the discussion of the language in Daulat's portion of the work as done in this paper, I have also consulted a manuscript copy of the text (the reading of which is not less confusing than those of the printed editions) received from the late lamented scholar, Abdul Karim Sāhityaviśārada.
[9] *Islāmi bāṃlā sāhitya*, S. Sen, p. 15.

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theology is in the beginning of the book.[1] Even here the percentage of Perso-Arabic words does not exceed six, the rest being all words current in standard Bengali. On the other pages of the work, to all intents and purposes, there is no unfamiliar Perso-Arabic word. Reference to Persian stories outside the Holy Korana is extremely rare, and the solitary instance that I could trace in the entire portion of Daulat's work is a reference to the well-known story of *Hātim Tāi* who lived from the last half of the sixth into the beginning of the seventh century,[2] and was 'renowned for his open-handed generosity as well as for his poetry'.[3]

Daulat has used *brajabuli*[4] here and there with remarkable success and it has added a novel charm to his work. An influence of the Vaiṣṇava poets who have written in *brajabuli* as well as of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* is strongly marked in Daulat's work. There are also innumerable lines and parts of lines in Daulat's work which have striking similarity with Vidyāpati to whom is dubiously attributed[5] the authorship of quite a basketful of Vaiṣṇava lyrics some of which are real gems in literature.

Daulat Kazi also seems to be fairly conversant with the Hindu scriptures and with the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa some of whose well-known lines occur in his *Satī Mayanā* in very good translation. At four places[6] altogether, the poet has referred to the popular story of the love of Vidyā and Sundara and there is one reference to the widely known story of Karaṭaka-Damanaka of the Sanskrit work *Pañcatantra*. In addition to all this, his work is resplendent with similes, metaphors and a variety of different figures of speech, both borrowed and original.

The language of Daulat Kazi, though chaste Bengali of his time, contains many archaic words, dialectal forms, and uses which deserve more than a passing notice. A brief discussion of these is made here.

VERBS

(i) Plural honorific and non-honorific, and singular honorific forms of verbs both in the present and the past tense invariably occur with the suffix *nta* or *nti* (<Sans. *nti*[7]), thus: karānta or karenta, *does*[8]; ārjilenta, *earned*; deyanta, *give*; hailenta, *were;* pujenta, *worship*; bujhanta or bujhenta, *understand;* pālenta *bring up, rule;* calenta, *go, walk*; behārenta, *enjoy moving about or playing*; basilenta, *sat*[9]; puchenta, *ask*[10], khepilenta, *threw*[11]; etc.

Such forms as, bhābilenta, hāsenta, karilenta, karāilenta (causative), bujhāyanta (causative), rākhilenta, āisenta, nivedilenta, etc. are only too numerous to be recorded in full.

(ii) Some old forms in the verbs in the present tense in the first person are noticed: māgam, *I or we beg*; ham, *I am*; dharahō,

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[1] *Satī Mayanā*, pp. 1–3, p. 5.
[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, No. 18, p. 290.
[3] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 2, p. 27.
[4] *Brajabuli* as distinguished from *Vraja-bhāsā* is an artificial *mischsprache*, the entire literature in which is the outcome of the efforts of neo-Vaisnavites of Bengal (*History of Brajabuli Literature*, S. Sen, pp. 1–3).
[5] *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan*, Grierson, p. 10.
[6] And *not two* as mentioned by the authors of the *Ārākān rāja-sabhāya bangālā sāhitya*, op. cit., p. 19, f.n.
[7] *Bhāṣāra Itivṛtta*, p. 136.
[8] cf. Karanti, *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, p. 41.
[9] basilanta, *sat*, ibid., p. 8.
[10] puchanti, *ask*, ibid., p. 5.
[11] khepilō, *I threw*, ibid., p. 142.

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I hold, etc.[1] But here one comes across the modern forms also quite plentifully.

(iii) East Bengal dialectal forms have an abundant use in the first person in future tense; ānam (>E.B. ānum), *I shall bring*; dem (>dimu), *I shall give*; milām (>E.B. milāïmu), *I shall get you* (some one or something); etc. Pure East Bengal forms side by side with the modern standard forms are also many in number: jāïmu, *I shall go*; kahimu, *I shall speak*; dimu, *I shall give*; tejimu, *I shall give up*; thākimu, *I shall remain*; etc.

Another form of future tense in the first person, such as basibām[2], *I shall sit* seems to be extremely rare.

(iv) Verbs in the second person in the present tense occur almost invariably with the early middle Bengali suffix *si* at the end: [3] balasi, *you tell*; bujhasi, *you understand*; karāosi (causative), *you make one do*; cintasi, *you think*; soāosi (causative), *you make (one) lie down*; sunāosi (causative), *you make one hear*; [4] etc.

(v) Such verbal forms as dibāre, *to give* [mṛtyudvāre nāre keha dibāre kapāṭa [5], *nobody is able to close the door to death*]; puchāri or puchāre, *ask* [phiri tāke nā puchāri [6], *does not address (lit. ask) her again*; abadhi antare phiri nā puchāre [7], *does not address her again after a time*;] etc. are not rare.

In the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, such forms as dibāre, *to give*, āchera, *is or are*, kahiāra, (*you*) *tell*, diāra, *you give*, etc. are quite numerous.

These verbal forms seem to have been derived in the following way: dibāre<dibā (<√dā+tavya)+kāra (<√kṛ); puchāre (<√pracch)+kāra; kahiāra<*kahiā+kara = kathitaṃ kuru; etc.[8]

(vi) Of the numerous denominative verbs occurring in the text, only a few illustrations are given here: nirmila, *built*; samarpila, *gave away*; ārohila, *rode or climbed*; cintiyā, *having thought*; pramodite, *to amuse*; lilaya, *plays about*; ādeśila, *commanded*; prabeśila, *entered*; namaskāri, *having saluted*; parīkṣiyā, *having examined*; uddeśite, *to find out the whereabouts of*; icchilā, *wished*; aṇveṣi, *having searched*; visarjasi, *you give up or sacrifice*; prabodhite, *to console*; ālāpaya, *talks*; bārtileka, *spread news, announced* (cf. Hindi, bātānā, *to tell*); praśaṃsila, *praised*; bilāpe, *laments*; praṇamiyā, *having bowed*; etc.[9]

Similar uses of denominative verbs are also copious in use in the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, e.g., ādeśiba, (*she*) *will command*; āropiyā, *having put*; niṣadhila, *warned*; abagāhi, *having gone into the bottom*; uddhārilō, *I rescued*; upekhasi, *you ignore*;

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[1] cf. kaham, *I shall tell, Gorkha Vijaya*, p. 85; bandam, *I pray or worship*, ibid., p. 1. In *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* such first person forms are mostly nasalized thus, khāõ *I eat*; jāõ, *I go*, etc.

[2] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 52. [3] *Bhāṣāra Itivṛtta*, p. 136.

[4] Cf. *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, bujhasi, *you understand*; bolasi, *you say*; karasi, *you do*; etc.

[5] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 67. [6] Ibid., p. 82. [7] Ibid.

[8] *O.D.B.L.*, p. 996. That the *r* in these forms is from √kṛ is supported by such verbal phrases as ānā karāo, *you get it brought*; balā karāo, *you have it said*; etc. still current in Birbhum colloquy. In the Hindi colloquy of some parts of U.P. verbal phrases like diyā kara, *you give*, khāyā kara, *you eat*, etc. are quite common.

[9] Also vide my article *Daulat kājira kāvya O Ālāol, Desh*, 3rd Phālgena, 1358 B.Y., p. 158.

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cintiã, *having thought*; corāã or corāyiã, *having stolen*; tapila, *did penance*; daṃśila, *bit*; prabodhiã, *having consoled*; birodhila, *obstructed*; bilapila, *lamented*; bilasila, *enjoyed*; sukhāe, *is pleasant*; etc.[1]

(vii) Pleonastic *ka* in the third person in imperative has a free use, some of these being obsolete: āchaüka,[2] or ācauka,[3] *let alone*; labhauka, *let (one) obtain*; sājaüka, *let (one) dress*; khaṇḍauka, *let it be dispelled*; kṣepauka, *let (him) throw*; paḍauka, *let it fall*; karauka, *let (him) do*; khasauka, *let it slip*; thāüka, *let (it) remain;* etc.

Use of imperatives without *ka* [4] is rather rare: nehau, *let (it) be led or taken*; karau, *let it be done*; etc.

A noticeable point in these illustrations is that all these imperative forms have *a+ü* or *au* [5] instead of only *u* as is commonly used and current in the standard forms [6].

(viii) Future imperative in the second person has at many places retained the early middle Bengali form though the modern form also occurs in plenty; [7] thākaha, (*you*) *remain*; karaha, (*you*) *do*; māraha, (*you strike*; dharaha, (*you*) *hold*; bujhaha, (*you*) *realize*; etc.[8]

(ix) The present indefinite tense in the third person occurs mostly with *aya* at the end, thus: āchaya, *is or are*; balaya, *says*; puchaya, *ask*; pūjaya, *worship*; ālāpaya, *talks*; bhulaya, *forgets*; karaya, *do*; bañcaya, *pass*; dekhaya, *see*; jānaya, *know*; etc.

The standard forms, bale, *tell*; dahe, *burn*, etc. are also not at all rare.

(x) In the third person, the verbs in the future tense are almost invariably formed in the East Bengal(?) model, viz., with *ba* in place of *be* [9]; e.g., yāïba, *he will go*; thākiba, *he will remain*; kariba, *he will do*; nāśiba, *he will kill*; etc.

(xi) *Participles:* The verbal participles in Daulat's work are mostly of the modern type except in some cases where the shorter form with the common dropping of the last *ya* is noticeable. Thus: mānāï, *having tamed*; sājāï, *having arranged*; haï, *having been*; hārāï, *having lost*; etc. [10]

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[1] It is rather strange that Madhusudan, in the nineteenth century, was ridiculed for uses of too many denominative verbs.

[2] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 20. *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* has the form *āchuka* in identical sense (op. cit., p. 47, 96, 132, 183). The form *āchuka* occurs also in Mukundarāma's *Kavikaṅkaṇa Caṇḍī* (op. cit., p. 11).

[3] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 21.

[4] In *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, such uses as āchu, *let alone* (op. cit., p. 30, 34, 113), karu, *let (him) do* (ibid., p. 10, 68, 72, etc.) are quite abundant.

[5] There is a number of examples of imperative verbs with similar *a+ü* or *au* with pleonastic *ka* in *Gorkha Vijaya* (op. cit., dharauka, *let (him) hold*, p. 16; bharauka, *let (it) be filled*, p. 91, etc.).

[6] *Bhāṣāra Itivṛtta*, p. 138.

[7] Modern form of this occurs in plenty in *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* also (op. cit., p. 6, 8, 21, etc.).

[8] *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* has: thākaha (p. 47, 88), karaha, (p. 9, 24, etc.), bujhaha (p. 54, 57, etc.), etc.

[9] In this connection it must, however, be pointed out that *Śrikṛṣṇakīrtana* is also not free from similar uses, e.g. yabē baḍāï ādeśiba more, *when Baḍāï will permit me* (op. cit., p. 173); mora sakala sakhijana jāïba śuna kalase, *all my lady friends will go with empty pitchers*; etc. Does it indicate that this was a common form in the middle Bengali stage?

[10] Cf. *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*; haï, *having been*; p. 189; jāï, *having gone*, p. 39, etc.

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Verbal nouns: Some of the verbal nouns are more common in East Bengal than in the standard dialect. Thus: jāgana, *waking*; cinana, *finding out*; kāmana, *desire*; etc.

Case-endings

1. Nominatives without any case-ending occur almost equally with a case-ending modelled in East Bengal fashion[1] with *e* when the word ends in *a* and *ya* when it ends otherwise: (*a*) without case-ending: rājā yāya, *the king goes*; basila Sundara, *Sundara sat*; rāṇī kahe, *the queen says*; bāmana śunaya, *the midget hears*; etc., (*b*) with *e* and *ya*: bāpe māya śunileha, (*If*) *father and mother hear this*; bāmane dekhila, *the midget saw*; rājāya bolay, *the king says*; kahe māliniye, *the female gardener says*; rattanāya bale, *Rattanā says*; etc.

2. Accusative case occurs both with and without case-endings: sārathike bale, *tells the charioteer*; svāmīke dekhiyā, *having seen the husband*; oṣṭhaka[2] kampaya, *causes his lips to tremble*; rahāsyaka bujhāya, *explains the mystery*; ādeśilā yubajane, *ordered the young folk*; kumāre praṇāmi, *having bowed before the prince*; kumāra sambodhi, *addressing the prince*; jāmātā pālaya bhūmi, *the son-in-law rules the land*; nṛpa ādeśila sainyagaṇa, *the king ordered the soldiers*; etc.[3]

3. Instrumental case-endings are: *e*, *ye*, *ya*: darpe bhūmi pāle (*S.M.*, p. 15), *rules the kingdom with pride*; vale barśi khasāïte nāre (*S.M.*, p. 46), *cannot remove the hook with force*; seï śara śare kāṭi pāḍe (*S.M.*, p. 56), *cuts and brings that arrow to the ground with another arrow*; eï chale ..... dekhaya (*S.M.*, p. 44), *sees in this pretext*; kurāliye khudi barśi (*S.M.*, p. 46), *having dug out the hook with an axe*; praṇatiye māge eï vara (*S.M.*, p. 68), *begs this boon with obeisance*; bhaktiye (also *bhaktiya* as elsewhere) tuṣṭa bhela (*S.M.*, p. 69), *was pleased with* (*his*) *devotion*; śaktiya nibāri (*S.M.*, p. 80), *stopping with force or strength*; jyotiya veṣṭita tanu (*S.M.*, p. 31), *body wrapped in lustre*; etc.

Śrikṛṣṇakīrtana has plenty of such forms as, stutiẽ, *with devotional praise*; suratiẽ, *with sexual pleasure*; etc.

The instrumental case-endings *ta* or *he* or nasals as found in the *Śrikṛṣṇakīrtana* [4] have no trace in Daulat Kazi's work.

4. Datives, in addition to the use of such post-positions as janye, kāraṇe, hetu, uddeśi, etc., have mostly the accusative case-endings, but there is hardly any definitely archaic form.

5. Besides the usual post-positions, hante (archaic), hate, haite, etc. in the case of ablatives, the case-endings *ta* and *e* have been found to occur though quite rarely : rājāta (*S.M.* p. 64), *from the king*; āpade uddhāri (*S.M.*, p. 55), *rescuing from difficulties*; etc.[5]

6. The genitives in *Satī Mayanā* have mostly their modern forms with *ra*, *era* and *āra*. The case-endings *kera* and *kāra* are entirely absent, but

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[1] *Bhāṣāra Itivṛtta*, p. 119.

[2] Cf. *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*: oṭha ādhara üṭhaka jini, *the lips defeat* (*i.e. are worse than*) (*those of*) *a camel*, p. 4.

[3] The ending *re* never occurs in the accusative outside the pronouns, but in the *Śrikṛṣṇakīrtana* it appears also in nouns, e.g. bolaha rādhāre, *tell Rādhā* (op. cit., p. 9), bolaha kāhnere, *tell Krisna* (op. cit., p. 90); etc.

[4] *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 3rd Number, 1342, p. 129.

[5] *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* has the case-endings *ta* and *te* in the ablative. Thus: gharata, *from the house* (op. cit., p. 29); rādhāte, *from Rādhā* (op. cit., p. 99); āhmāte, *from me* (ibid., p. 150); rādhikāta, *from Rādhikī*, (ibid., p. 124); etc.

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ka can be traced though very rarely,[1] e.g. dosaraka guṇa (*S.M.*, p. 79), *virtues of another*; divasaka yuti, *brightness of the day* (*S.M.*, p. 84).

7. The locative case-endings are *te*, *ta*, *e*: sabhāte, *in the court or assembly*; deśete, *in the country*; hātata, *in the hand*; hasteta, *in the hand*; batsareta, *in a year*; purīta, *in the house*; sāgare, *in the sea*; dvāre, *in the door*; etc.

There are some instances in which the locative has been extended to include the indirect object, e.g., dvārī yadi rājāte kahila e vacana (*S.M.*, p. 13), *when the gate-keeper told the king these words*; kāhāte kahimu (*S.M.*, (p. 20), *to whom shall I say*; vidvāneta vidyā kahi, mūrkheteo mūrkhatā (*S.M.*, p. 26), *learning is to be talked to the learned and foolishness to the ignorant*; pāṭhāila tomāte (*S.M.*, p. 72), *sent to you*[2].

The locative case-ending *te* is found in some indeclinables also, e.g. kothāte yāïmu (*S.M.*, p. 12), *where shall I go*; yathāte basaya lor kānta (*S.M.*, p. 40), *where lord Lor sits*; ethāte (*S.M.*, p. 44), *here*, *on the other hand*; etc.[3]

Pronouns

In Daulat's work most of the pronouns have their modern forms though some archaic case-endings are found to linger.

The pronominal forms occurring in the text are these: Nominative Singular: āmi, muï; muñī, muñi; tumi, tuï; se, seï; āpane, āpana.

Nominative Plural: āmarā; tomrā, torā; tārā, tāhārā; etc.

Accusative: āmāke, moke, āmā, mohare, mohaka, mohake, āmāre, more; tomāke, toke, tomā, tomāre, tomāta;[4] tāhāke, tāke, tāhāre, tā, se, se saba, āpane.

Genitive: āmāra, mora, mohara, āmā (sane), meri;[5] to, tomāra, tora, terā[6], tohara, tomā; tāhāra, tāra, tāhā (sane), tāhāna, tāna, tā sabhāna;[7] āpanā, ehāra.

Locative: All the forms are modern.

Ablatives have mostly been done with hante, haite and hate. Thus, to hante (*S.M.*, p. 37), *more than yours*, āmā haite (*S.M.*, p. 43), *by* (*lit. from*) *me*, tā hante (*S.M.*, p. 48), *from it*, tāhā hante (*S.M.*, p. 51), *more than it*, tomā haite (*S.M.*, p. 68), tomā hate (*S.M.*, p. 39), *more than yours*; etc.

The pronoun dōha (ā)[8] occurs in some cases, but the nasal is found nowhere possibly on occount of East Bengal influence. Thus, we find dǫha (*Satī Mayanā*, p. 52, 66, 71, etc.), *both*, and dohāna (Ibid., p. 10, 49, etc.), *both*, in the nominative, while dohāna, *of both*, occurs in the genitive as well.[9] The genitive form dohānera, *of both*, is also not rare;[10] dohāke, *to both*, is found in the accusative case (*S.M.*, p. 19).

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[1] *ka* is also extremely rare in *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*: *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrika*, 3rd number, 1342, p. 135.

[2] Cf. *Gorkha Vijaya*, p. 12; devita puchila, *asked the goddess*.

[3] In the word kemata (*S.M.*, p. 32), *how*, the *ta* is obviously not a locative case-ending, and kemata seems to have come from * kemant (*Bhāṣāra Itivṛtta*, p. 133).

[4] eī kahilum tomāta, *I say this to you* (*S.M.*, p. 43).

[5] kheli, keli, mili, sakala gela meri (*S.M.*, p. 98), *all my plays, amorous activities and unions are over*.

[6] *S.M.*, p. 82.

[7] Ibid., p. 67.

[8] The word is possibly from the apabhraṁśa form dōṇha, dōṇṇa (*O.D.B.L.*, p. 701, p. 786), though the *h* is difficult to explain (op. cit., p. 725).

[9] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 96.

[10] Ibid., p. 42, 49, etc.

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Phrases

Some of the common phrases or idiomatic uses often repeated in the text are: cātare cātare [1] (< ? catvara, *courtyard*) *in numbers*; āste byaste (<asta-vyasta [2]), *in excessive haste*; yata (or jata) iti, *and all that had happened*; tekāraṇe, *for this reason*; udite lukite [3], (?) *vanishes immediately after showing itself*; āgusāri, *having advanced*; yena mate, *the way in which*; bādiyā, *having advanced*; āgu bāḍi,[4] *having advanced*; abadhi gamiyā gela, *the limit is passed*, nikunja khelite, *to hunt* (*lit. to play* (*in*) *the forest*); kahite āchie,[5] *I am telling*; śuci ruci (*S.M.*, p. 76, 86, etc.), *with a sacred beauty*; etc.

Other peculiarities of language

It has been pointed out that Daulat Kazi belonged to Chittagong,[6] and if this is true it is only natural to expect that there will be some words or expressions including certain linguistic uses peculiar to East Bengal in his work. Some such singularities have been discussed above from a grammatical point of view. It must, however, be mentioned here that his work, doubtless written in standard chaste Bengali, is far above the narrowness of provincial colloquialism in language for all it is worth. There are only a very few stray instances of East Bengal influence, number of which, again, admits of being explained away as the work either of the scribes or of the printers, or as usages common to both East and West Bengal in Daulat's time. For instance, such frequent rhymings as 'phula' and (bim-)-bhola, lobha and śubha, rūpa and gopa, tula and bola, lora and -tura, (kau-)-tuka and śoka, rola and (ā-)-kula, lora and śūra, etc., etc. certainly smack of East Bengal influence in pronunciation, but may as well be due to imperfect (?) rhyming such as common even in the great work of the West Bengal poet Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa.[7] The large number of instances of epenthesis peculiar to East Bengal pronunciation, as quoted below, also need not all be the work of a poet who was well versed in Sanskrit, particularly because the standard spellings of most of these very same words simultaneously occur in Daulat's book: pairāyanta (<parāïanta = parāna), *fit or dress* (*one with*); jaikṣa (<yakṣa), *an ethereal being*; taikṣaka (<takṣaka), *a kind of reptile*; tataikṣaṇa (<tatakṣaṇa), *in the meanwhile*; raikṣaka (<rakṣaka), *guard*; saitya (<satya), *truth*; etc.

The words *kai* (= kothāya), *where*, in the line 'kai gela śaśikalā,'[8] *where is gone* (*my friend*) *Śaśikalā*, and *kane* (= ke), *who*, in the line 'kane bā bujhite pāre naukāra mahimā',[9] *who can appreciate the glory of the boat*, are perfect East Bengal uses current to this day.

Of the other noticeable singularities in Daulat's work, the use of *ha* in place of *o* in the sense of *also*, *even*, *if*, seems to be quite abundant,[10]

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[1] Cf. kātāre kātāre, *in great numbers*, of West Bengal dialect.
[2] *O.D.B.L.*, p. 314.
[3] tadit capalā yena udite lukite, *like fickle lightning vanishing immediately after the flash*, *S.M.*, p. 30.
[4] Cf. *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, p. 94.
[5] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 7.
[6] *Arākāna rāja sabhāya bāṅgālā sāhitya*, pp. 13-14.
[7] Cf. maṇe and suṇe (*Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, p. 18), (tām-) -buḷa and kola (ibid., p. 34), dadhī and śudhī (ibid.), duī and hoī (ibid.), baṭe and ṭuṭe (ibid., p. 36), (ī-)-śare and cūre (ibid., p. 38), etc.
[8] *Satī Mayanā*, p. 12.
[9] Ibid., p. 6.
[10] *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* has also plenty of such uses, e.g. āhme-ho, *I also* (op. cit., p. 45, 131), tohmāho, *you too* (ibid., p. 49), seho, *he or she too* (ibid., p. 33, 40, etc.) etc.

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though the use of *o* is also not rare. Thus we have, seha, *he or she too*; tumiha, *you also*; lorakeha, *Loraka too*; basileha, *even if* (*she*) *sits*; śunilehā, if he hears; etc.

A few instances of unusual nasalization occur here and there, e.g., dhãī (= dhāï), *nurse*, hãsiyā (= hāsiyā), *having laughed*, etc. Stray instances of uncommon aphesis also seem to exist, e.g., kibā bhiṣṭa (< abhiṣṭa) (*S.M.*, p. 72), *what is* (*your*) *desired object*; kothā hante gamana (< āgamana) (*S.M.*, p. 77), *where do you come from*, etc.

Abbreviations

O.D.B.L. = Origin and Development of Bengali Language—Sunitikumar Chattopadhyaya.
S.M. = Sati Mayanā, Daulat Kazi.
B.Y. = Bengali Year.

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VAṄGĪYA SĀHITYA PARIṢAD PLATE OF VIŚVARŪPASENA

By D. C. Sircar

(*Paper received on 13th January, 1954*)

This copperplate grant had been discovered in 1925 in the neighbourhood of Dacca,[1] now the chief city of East Pakistan, and later found its place in the Museum of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. The inscription was first edited by H. P. Sastri in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 77–86 (with Plates), and then by N. G. Majumdar in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 140–48, 177–80 (with Plates). J. C. Ghosh published a short note on the record in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IV, 1928, pp. 637ff. A large number of errors crept into Sastri's transcript of the inscription, which was not accompanied by any translation of the text. Sastri failed to interpret the record properly. Majumdar succeeded very considerably in improving upon Sastri's transcript and also offered an English translation of the whole epigraph. But his reading of the difficult grant portion of the charter seems to suffer from some errors while a number of passages in this part either were left uninterpreted in his translation or were, in my opinion, misunderstood by him. Considering the exceptionally difficult nature of this section of the inscription, I offer in these pages my views on its reading and interpretation for the scrutiny of scholars.

Before taking up our task set forth above, it may be pointed out that there is a serious error in the reading of verse 15 (lines 23–25) of the introductory part of this record in the transcripts of both Sastri and Majumdar. Sastri reads the stanza as follows:

Yāṁ nirmmāya pavitra-pāṇir = abhavad = Vedhāḥ satīnāṁ śikhā-
ratnaṁ yā kim = api sva-rūpa-caritair = viśvaṁ yay = ālaṅkṛtam |
Lakṣmīr = bhūr = api vāñchitāni vidadhe yasyāḥ sapatnyor = dvayaṁ
śrīmat-Ṭaṭṭaṇadevy = amuṣya mahiṣī s = ābhūt = tri-varg-ocitā ||

Majumdar reads the fourth foot of the stanza as: *śrīmat-Tyaṣṭaṇadevy = ā . . . . . vargg-ocitā*. Majumdar's *vargg-ocitā* is no doubt correct; but what has been read as *sapatnyor = dvayaṁ* by both Sastri and Majumdar seems really to be *sapat(n*)y[or] = dvaya(ṁ*)* or *sapatyī(tnī)-dvaya(ṁ*)*. More important is, however, the name of king Viśvarūpasena's mother, which has been read by Sastri as *Ṭaṭṭaṇadevī* and Majumdar as *Tyaṣṭaṇadevī*. In my opinion, both these readings are wrong, although the third letter in the name is certainly *ṇa*. The *akṣara* after *śrīma* looks quite clearly like *ṭy* followed by an *ā-mātrā*. This *ṛ*-like sign must have been taken by Sastri to be a subscript *ṭ*. But in that case he should have properly read the *akṣara* as *ṭṭā* (and not *ṭṭa*), although the conjunct *ṭṭ* is an impossibility as admitted by Sastri himself. As to Majumdar's reading of the *akṣara* as *ttya*, it should be observed that the *ṛ*-like and *ā*-like signs may be together taken to stand for a subscript *y*. But the reading of the *akṣara* in that case would be *tya* and not *ttya* as there is no trace at all of the duplication of *t*. The *akṣara* certainly looks like *tya* and, therefore, it appears that the name of the queen-mother began with the letter *a* and was preceded in the passage in question by the expression *śrīmatī*. The *akṣara* following *tya* has

[1] Sometimes it is said that the inscription was found at the village of Maṇyapāṛā.

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been read by Sastri as *ṭṭa* and by Majumdar as *ṣṭa*. There are numerous instances of the occurrence of *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭa* in the inscription; cf. eight cases of *ṭṭa* in lines 38, 41, 50, 52, 55 and 60, and four cases of *ṣṭa* in lines 26, 45, 52 and 65. But the *akṣara* in question has no resemblance whatsoever with *ṭṭa* or *ṣṭa* as found elsewhere in the record. The most reasonable reading of the second *akṣara* in the queen-mother's name, which is apparently a conjunct, seems to be *hva*, as its superscript looks like *h* and subscript like *v*. Thus the name of the mother of king Viśvarūpasena as quoted in the inscription under review seems to be Ahvaṇadevī. The reading is certainly not *Alhaṇadevī* (a well-known female name) suggested in *E.I.*, XXVI, p. 9, n. 4. It may be pointed out in this connection that the same stanza occurs in a slightly different form in the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates (cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–39). In both the cases, however, the queen-mother's name was incised later on an erasure suggesting that originally a different name had been engraved in the space. The same is also the case with the name of the issuer of these charters. I am discussing this point in a separate article on the Madanpāṛā plate.

The grant portion of the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate runs from line 35 to line 68. Of these, lines 35–38 speak of king Viśvarūpasena as the son of king Lakṣmaṇasena and the grandson of king Ballālasena while lines 38–41 mention a number of the king's subordinates, dependants, officers and others, to whom the royal order regarding the grant recorded in the charter was addressed. The details of the grant are quoted in the king's order that follows in lines 41–68. We shall take up this part section by section for the sake of convenience. The language of this part of the record is Sanskrit; but it is greatly influenced by the local dialect. Besides the usual representation of *b* by the sign for *v*, we have the use of Prakritic words like *laggāvayitvā* (Bengali *lāgāiyā*, 'having planted'), etc. The rules of Sanskrit grammar, especially those regarding *Sandhi*, have been often ignored. But the most interesting feature of the said part of the inscription is the use of a number of contractions, many of which have not yet been satisfactorily explained; e.g. *u* for *udāna* or more properly *udānāni*. We have made no attempt to emend the text when the meaning is clear.

I. (*a*) *Lines 41–44:* viditam = astu bhavatāṁ yathā Pauṇḍravarddhana-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Vaṅge Nāvye Rāmasiddhi-pāṭake Varāha-kuṇḍa-dakṣiṇa-paścime pūrvve Devahāra-devabhoga-sīmā dakṣiṇe Vāṅgālavaḍā-bhūḥ sīmā paścime nadī sīmā uttare tathā nadī sīmā evam caṭuḥ-sīm-āvacchinna-vāstu-bhūmy-udāna $34\frac{3}{4}$ (|*)

(*b*) *Lines 43–45:* (1) tathā Devahāra-pūrvve ṭī 4 vyā-bhū-u $4\frac{1}{2}$ vāstu-u-p[r]ati-hi $1\frac{3}{8}$ (|*) tathā nāla-bhū-u $26\frac{3}{4}$ (|*) (2) Devahāra-uttare nāla-bhū-u 2 nāla-u-p[r]ati-hi $1\frac{1}{8}$ (|*) (3) evaṁ sa-vāstu-bhū-udāna $67\frac{3}{4}$ grāma-patyā sāṁ-hi $80\frac{5}{16}$ (|*)

(*c*) *Lines 45–47:* tath = aitad-grāme vāra-Nāko-Lokta-Gāñīk-ādīnāṁ nūtana-baraja-catuṣṭaya-sameta(tā) vāra-Śremano-Udayi-Apara-Loktakāṛāṁ baraja-traya-saṁvalita-(bhūḥ *) sāṁ-hi $19\frac{1}{16}$ (|*) militvā kā 2 khaṁ 7 dvābhyāṁ trayodaś-ābdīya-Uttarāyaṇa-mahāsaṁkramaṇa-sambandhena samutsarggita-bhū-saṁ-sāṁ-hi 100 (|*)

Subsection (*a*) mentions the first plot of the gift land measuring $34\frac{3}{4}$ Udānas. In writing fractions in the record, each quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) is indicated by a vertical *daṇḍa* while each quarter of a quarter ($\frac{1}{16}$) by a slanting *daṇḍa*. In the case occurring in the above subsection three quarters are indicated by three vertical *daṇḍas*. The exact area of an Udāna is

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unknown; but we have given a rough idea of this land measure in a note published in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 309–13. The subsection speaks of a plot of homestead (*vāstu*) land situated to the south-west of Varāha's *kuṇḍa* (i.e. the tank belonging to the temple of the god Varāha or the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu; cf. Sanskrit and Bengali Dictionaries, s.v. *kuṇḍa*) in the village called Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka. This village is stated to have been lying in the Nāvya (literally, 'navigable') Division of Vaṅga forming a part of the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti* (Province). The plot of land referred to was bounded in the east by the *deva-bhoga* at Devahāra, i.e. land belonging to a god (possibly Varāha mentioned above) worshipped at a locality called Devahāra apparently in the village of Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka. Its southern boundary was a piece of land forming part of an area called Vāṅgālavaḍā while in the west and north it was bounded by a river.

Subsection (*b*) speaks of three other plots of the gift land situated near the plot mentioned in subsection (*a*) and also quotes the total area of the four plots of land together with its annual revenue income. Several contractions have been used in this subsection. Of these, *ṭī* in extract (1) seems to stand for *ṭīkara* meaning 'a mound' (cf. Hindī *ṭīkar*, *ṭīkrā*; Bengali *ṭikar*, *ṭikrā*; Oriyā *ṭikara*, etc., in the lexicons of these languages and also *ṭikarī* and *ṭikaribasti* in Wilson's *Glossary*). This abbreviation occurs many times in the Mehar plate, rather perfunctorily edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182–91. *Vyā-bhū-u* stands apparently for *vyāmiśra-bhūmy-udāna* (better °*udānāni*), in which *vyāmiśra-bhūmi* no doubt means 'mixed land', i.e. land containing some of the *vāstu* (homestead) category and some of the *nāla* (arable, in which sense the word *nāl* is still used in Bengali) class, although some other types of land may also have been included in it (cf. *khila* or waste land mentioned in line 60). In the same extract *nāla-bhū-u* similarly means *nāla-bhūmy-udāna*. But more interesting is the passage *vāstu-u-prati-hi* $1\frac{3}{8}$, in which *hi* certainly stands for *hiraṇya* in the sense of 'coin, money or cash'. The passage thus stands for *vāstu-bhūmy-udāna-prati*[1]*-hiraṇya* $1\frac{3}{8}$, which means to say that the annual revenue income was at the rate of $1\frac{3}{8}$ of the standard coin per Udāna of homestead land. In line 59 of the inscription, the standard coin is mentioned as Cūrṇṇī which is known to have been another name of the well-known Purāṇa (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 45 and note 3). The meaning of the contraction *hi* is clearly suggested by the passage *etan-mūlyaṁ hi 40* in lines 50-51, which no doubt means: 'the price of this is in coins 40 only'. Similarly, in extract (2), *nāla-bhū-u* and *nāla-u-prati-hi* stand respectively for *nāla-bhūmy-udāna* and *nālabhūmy-udāna-prati-hiraṇya*. The rates of the annual revenue income per Udāna of homestead and arable land in these two cases have been specially mentioned because they were lower than the usual rates. The expression *grāma-patyā* used in extract (3) seems to stand for *grāma-jana-patitvāt* possibly suggesting that the revenue income came from the tenants who were inhabitants of the village of Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka in question (cf. *nānā-patyā* below). In this extract, the contraction *sāṁ* has been used to indicate *sāṁvatsarika* (i.e. annual). Thus *sāṁ-hi* stands for *sāṁvatsarika-hiraṇya*, i.e. annual revenue income in the standard coin called Cūrṇṇī or Purāṇa.

Therefore the three plots of land mentioned in subsection (*b*) were: (1) four mounds of mixed land lying to the east of Devahāra and measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ Udānas, of which the *vāstu* portion fetched annually revenue income at the rate of $1\frac{3}{8}$ Purāṇas per Udāna; (2) $26\frac{3}{4}$ Udānas of arable land lying in the same place; and (3) 2 Udānas of arable land lying to the north of Devahāra

[1] Expressions like *udāna-prati*, 'per udāna', are common in Bengali.

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and fetching annually revenue income at the rate of $1\frac{1}{8}$ Purāṇas per Udāna. Extract (3) says that all the plots of land (at Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka), a part of which was homestead land (*sa-vāstu*), together measured $67\frac{3}{4}$ Udānas, of which the annual revenue income was $80\frac{5}{16}$ Purāṇas. Elsewhere this grant is stated to have been made in the month of Pauṣa during the thirteenth regnal year of Viśvarūpasena.

In subsection (*c*) the word *vāra* (cf. also frequent use of the word below) has been used before a group of personal names. The word means 'collection' in Sanskrit lexicons and, in the present case, it apparently means to say that a group of *barajas* or betel-vine plantations was held jointly by the persons mentioned. The words *sameta* and *saṁvalita* have been used in the sense of *saṁyukta* or *sambaddha* meaning 'attached to', with which the word *bhūmi* is to be understood. *Milivalitā* = Sanskrit *militā* or *sammilitā*. *Kā* stands for *kāṇḍa* or a cluster, and *khaṁ* for *khaṁḍa* or a piece. The contraction *saṁ* stands for a word like *sambaddha*, *sambandhena*, etc., i.e. for *saṁkrānta* in its Bengali sense.

Thus subsection (*b*) says that in the same village (i.e. Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka) four new betel-vine plantations in the joint possession of Nāko, Lokta, Gāñīka and others and three other (old) betel-vine plantations in the joint possession of Śremano, Udayi, Apara and Loktaka (probably the same as Lokta mentioned above), in all *seven* units in *two* lots, fetching an annual revenue income of $19\frac{11}{16}$ Purāṇas, were also granted. The income of these, viz. $19\frac{11}{16}$ Purāṇas, added to that of the land mentioned in subsection (*a*), viz. $80\frac{5}{16}$ Purāṇas, is stated to make up the annual revenue income of 100 Purāṇas attaching to the grant made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti (in the month of Pauṣa) during the year 13 (i.e. the thirteenth regnal year of king Viśvarūpasena).

II. *Lines 47–48:* tathā Nāvye Vinayatilaka-grāme pūrvve samudra-sīmā dakṣiṇe P[r]anullī-bhūḥ sīmā paścime jaṅghāla-sīmā uttare śāsana-sīmā evaṁ catuḥ-sīm-āvacchinna-savāstu-bhū-udāna 25 nānā-patyā sāṁ-hi 60 (|*)

This section speaks of another plot of land including some homestead land and measuring 25 Udānas. The annual revenue income accruing to it was 60 Purāṇas. The expression *nānā-patyā* used in this connection possibly means *nānāgrāma-jana-patitvāt* suggesting that the tenants holding the plot of land in question were inhabitants of different villages of the neighbourhood. The plot was situated at Vinayatilaka-grāma in the Nāvya Division of Vaṅga referred to above and was bounded in the east by the sea (possibly indicating one of the wide mouths of a river falling in the Bay of Bengal), in the south by a piece of land belonging to Pranullī (either a locality or a person), in the west by a *jaṅghāla* (an embankment) and in the north by a *śāsana*. The word *śāsana* here means a piece of land enjoyed rent-free by virtue of a *śāsana* or royal charter (cf. line 57 of the inscription). If Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka and Vinayatilaka-grāma (both in the Nāvya Division) were neighbouring villages, *śāsana* in the present case may refer to a plot of land, of which the grant is recorded in section I of the present charter.

III. *Lines 48–51:* tathā Madhukṣīrak-āvṛttau Navasaṁgraha-caturake Ajikulā-pāṭake yathāprasiddha-sva-sīm-āvacchinna [1] Śauvasā-Kirito-Maito-Ucchokādīnāṁ anen = aiv = Āvallika-paṁ-Halāyudhena krīta-paṭṭoli-saṁ-savāstu-bhūmy-udāna 165 nānā-patyā ucchannatvāt sāṁ-hi 100 (|*) tath = aitad-vāstu-bhūmau kalana-saṁ-sā(ṁ*)-guvāka-śata 30 etan-mūlyaṁ hi 40 (|*) dvā sāṁ-hi 140 (|*)

[1] Correctly we should have °*āvacchinnāni* .... *bhūmy-udānāni*.

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Of the abbreviations used in this section *paṁ* stands for *Paṁḍita* and *ḍvā* for *dvābhyām* (i.e. of, by or from the *two* referred to above). Line 64 of the inscription shows that the *Āvallika Paṇḍita* Halāyudha was the donee of the present charter. The meaning of the expression *Āvallika* is uncertain; but Halāyudha may have been the resident of a locality called Āvalla or Āvalla. This section speaks of a big piece of land measuring 165 Udānas; but its annual revenue income was only 100 Purāṇas. This unusually low amount of revenue seems to be explained by the expression *ucchannatvāt* possibly suggesting that many of the tenants, who were residents of different villages of the neighbourhood (cf. *nānā-patyā* explained above), were dead. It is stated that this plot of land was attached to (*saṁ* = *sambaddha*) the *paṭṭolī* (here meaning 'land purchased by a *paṭṭolī* or deed of purchase') that had been bought by Halāyudha (the donee of the present charter) from Śauvasā, Kirito, Maito, Ucchoka and others. The absence of the word *vāra* in this connection suggests that these persons held different portions of the land severally. This piece of land, the boundaries of which were fixed and well known, was situated in a village called Ajikulā-pāṭaka in the Navasaṁgraha *caturaka* (a small administrative unit) within the Madhukṣīraka *āvṛtti* (a slightly bigger administrative unit). The fact that the land was purchased by the donee shows that the king (the donor of the present charter) merely made it revenue-free. It should be noticed that, while *śāsana* means a rent-free holding, the holder of a *paṭṭolī* had to pay rent for his holding.

Along with the above plot of land was also granted a *kalana* (cf. line 59 of the inscription), apparently meaning a betelnut plantation, situated on the *vāstu* portion of it. The produce (cf. *saṁ* = *sambaddha*) of this plantation was stated to be 30 hundred (i.e. three thousand) betelnuts per annum, the price of which was calculated to be an annual income of 40 Purāṇas (i.e. at the rate of 75 arecanuts per Purāṇa). It has to be noticed that the rent paying holders of the land, from whom Halāyudha purchased it, did not own the betelnut plantation, the possession of which was a monopoly of the kings, *jāgīrdārs* and privileged tenants (cf. line 60 of the inscription). When the king made the plot rent-free in favour of Halāyudha, the right of ownership of the plantation had to be automatically made over to the donee.

The annual income of the plot of land, viz. 100 Purāṇas, added to the income from the price of betelnuts annually produced by the plantation on it, viz. 40 Purāṇas, made up the income of 140 Purāṇas per year.

IV. *Lines 51-52:* tathā Vikramapura-bhāge Lāuhaṇḍā-caturake Deulahastyāṁ nadī-pūrvva-paścime rāja-hitā[1] sa eva vāra-Āranto-Kāmya-Piṇṭhanāg-ādīnāṁ anen = aiva krīta-paṭṭolī-saṁ-savāstu-bhūmy-udāna 25 sāṁ-hi 50 (|*)

This section speaks of another piece of land situated to the east and west of a river in the village of Deulahastī within the Lāuhaṇḍā *caturaka* forming a part of the Vikramapura *bhāga* (Division). The expression *rāja-hita* (literally, 'the income of which is enjoyed by the king'), used in relation to the land, suggests that the plot formed a part of the king's Khas Mahal, although it was held jointly by the tenants Āranto, Kāmya, Piṇṭhanāga and others, from whom Halāyudha secured it as a *paṭṭolī* by purchase. A

[1] Apparently the author had in his mind *rāja-hitā sā eva ..... bhūmiḥ*; but the expression he uses below is *bhūmy-udāna*. Correctly, therefore, we should have *rāja-hitāni tāni eva .... bhūmy-udānāni*.

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portion of the plot was of the homestead category. It was 25 Udānas in area and fetched an annual income of 50 Purāṇas.

V. *Lines 52-53:* tribhiḥ [[mātṛ-caraṇānāma(nāṁ) dṛṣṭe na]][1]ḥ somagrāse samutsarggita-bhū-sambandhena guvāka-mūlya-sameta-sāṁ-hi 250 (|*)

This section sums up the total income of the three gifts mentioned in sections II–IV and says that the annual income of the land granted, including the price of the annual yield of arecanuts, comes up to 250 Purāṇas per annum. We have seen that the annual income of the grants made in the villages of Vinayatilaka-grāma, Ajikulā-pāṭaka and Deulahastī was respectively 60, 140 and 50 Purāṇas, i.e. in all 250 Purāṇas. It is stated that these three gifts were made on the occasion of the observation of a lunar eclipse by the king's mother.

VI. *Lines 53-54:* tath = aitad-grāme vāra-Brahmo-Amṛtokayoḥ anen = aiva krīta-paṭṭolī-saṁ [[varṣa-vṛddhau kumāra-Sūryyasena-pradatta]]-nāla-bhū-u 7 guvāka-vāstu-bhū-u 3 (|*) dvā savā-bhū-u 10 sāṁ-hi 25 (|*)

Mention is made here of one other plot of land situated at the same village (i.e. Deulahastī). It was attached to the *paṭṭolī* purchased by Halāyudha from the joint holders Brahmo and Amṛtoka. One part of it consisted of seven Udānas of arable land and the other of three Udānas of homestead land containing a betelnut plantation. These two parts made up in all ten Udānas of land containing some of the *vāstu* category (*dvā savā-bhū-u* = *dvābhyāṁ savāstu-bhūmy-udānāni*) and fetched an annual income of 25 Purāṇas. This grant was made by Prince Sūryyasena (very probably a son of Viśvarūpasena) on the occasion of his birthday anniversary and the king merely ratified the creation of a rent-free holding. The land owned by the donee by purchase now became rent-free and the donee acquired the additional right to enjoy the betelnut plantation on it. This plot of land apparently formed part of a *jāgīr* under Prince Sūryyasena. It seems that the holder of a *jāgīr* could grant a piece of land out of it, although the action required the king's approval.

VII. *Lines 54–56:* tathā tath = aitad-grāme vāra-Kano-Amṛtokayoḥ anen = aiva krīta-paṭṭolī-saṁ-sāndhivigrahika-Nāñīsiṁha-pradata(tta)-nāla-bhū-u 3 guvāka-vāstu-bhū-u 4 (|*) dvā savāstu-bhū-u 7 sāṁ-hi 50 (|*)

The expression *tathā* seems to be unnecessarily duplicated at the beginning. In the same village of Deulahastī was granted another piece of land consisting of a *nāla* and a *vāstu* section. The arable part measured three Udānas and the homestead part, which contained a betelnut plantation on it, was four Udānas in area. The two sections of the plot, containing some land of the homestead category, together measured seven Udānas, of which the annual income was 50 Purāṇas.

The land was originally under the joint possession of Kano and Amṛtoka (the same person as mentioned in section VI), from whom Halāyudha purchased it as a *paṭṭolī*. It apparently formed part of a *jāgīr* in the possession of Nāñīsiṁha who was the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace probably of king Viśvarūpasena). The king no doubt ratified the minister's gift of the land as a rent-free holding.

VIII. *Lines 56-57:* tathā Phandradvīpe Urā-caturake Jayajāhaḍā-pūrvve Ghāgharakāṭṭī-pāṭake rājapaṁ-Mahesa(śva)rasya anen = aiv = Āvallika-paṁ-Halāyudhena krīta-śāsana-saṁ-savāstu-bhū-udāna 12¾ sāṁ-hi 50 (|*)

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[1] Letters have been placed in double square brackets to indicate that they are re-engraved on erasures.

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This section refers to a plot of land situated in the village called Ghāgharakāṭṭī-pāṭaka lying to the east of Jayajāhaḍā in the Urā *caturaka* of Phandradvīpa. It was attached to the *śāsana* (i.e. land granted rent-free by a charter) which was purchased by Halāyudha from the *Rājapaṁ* (i.e. *Rāja-paṇḍita*) Maheśvara. The area of the land was $12\frac{3}{4}$ Udānas and its annual revenue income 50 Purāṇas. In this case, the king merely allowed Halāyudha the rent-free enjoyment of the land by recognizing its alienation by Maheśvara. It appears that a revenue-free holding lost its special character on alienation and that its new owner had to pay the annual rent fixed for it unless the king again made it revenue-free.

IX. *Lines 57-58:* tathā Phandradvīpe Pātilādivīke kumāra-śrī-Puruṣottamasena-bhujyamān-āya-saṁ anen = aiva [[caturdda]]ś-ābdīya-utthānadvādaśyāṁ samutsarggita-bhū-sambandhena datta-savāstu-bhūmy-udāna 24 sāṁ-hi 50 (|*)

This section speaks of a piece of land situated in the village of Pātilādivīka in Phandradvīpa. It was attached to the *āya* meaning 'income' or 'property' and referring apparently to a *jāgīr* enjoyed by Prince Puruṣottamasena (possibly another son of Viśvarūpasena) and was granted by the Prince in favour of Halāyudha on the occasion of the Utthāna-dvādaśī (in the month of Kārttika) during the year 14 (i.e. in the fourteenth regnal year of king Viśvarūpasena). The king merely ratified the grant of the plot of land as a revenue-free holding. A portion of this plot was of the *vāstu* category. It measured 24 Udānas and its annual revenue income was 50 Purāṇas.

X. *Lines 58–61:* (*a*) militvā sārddha-ṣaṭtriṁśad-unmān-ādhika-śatatray-odān-ātmaka-kalanaguvākamūlya-varajāya-sameta-sāṁ-cūrṇṇī-pañcaśatika-bhūmiḥ

(*b*) sa-jala-sthalā sa-jhāṭa-viṭapā sa-gartt-oṣarā sa-khila-nālā sa-guvāka-nārikelā a-caṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-praveśā ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-samakālaṁ yāvat

(*c*) devakula-puṣkariṇy-ādikaṁ kārayitvā guvāka-nārikel-ādikaṁ laggāvayitvā putra-pautr-ādi-santati-krameṇa sva-cchand-opabhogen = opabhoktuṁ....

The sentence is incomplete. Subsection (*a*) says that altogether the area of the various plots of land enumerated above came up to 300 Udānas and $36\frac{1}{2}$ Unmānas. As the total of the number of Udānas enumerated separately in Sections I–IX actually comes up to $336\frac{1}{2}$ Udānas, the word *Unmāna* mentioned here has to be taken as a synonym of *Udāna*. Subsection (*b*) says that the plots were granted together with land and water, bushes and branches, pits and barren tracts and waste and arable land and without the right of entrance for the *caṭṭa-bhaṭṭas* (*cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* of the earlier records, possibly meaning peons and police officials or regular and irregular troops). It is also said that the grant was meant to last as long as the sun, the moon and the earth would endure. Subsection (*c*) says that the donee and his descendants, such as sons, grandsons and others were allowed to enjoy the lands at their pleasure by causing on them the erection of temples, excavation of tanks, plantation of betelnut, coconut and other trees, and similar other works which were ordinarily not allowed to rent-paying tenants.

XI. *Lines 61–64:* Vātsya-sagotrasya Aurvā-Cyavana-Bhārgava-Yā(Jā)madagnya-Āpnuvat-pañcapravarasya Yajurved-āntargata-Kāṇva-śākh-aikadeś-ādhyāyino Lakṣmīdharadevaśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya tathā Devadharadevaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya tathā Adhyayadevaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Vātsya-sagotrāya Aurva-Cyavaṇa-Bhārgava-Yā(Jā)madagnya-

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Āpnuvat-pañcapravarāya Yajurved-āntargata-Kāṇva-śākh-aikadeśādhyāyine Āvallika-paṁ-śrī-Halāyudhadevaśarmmaṇe Brāhmaṇāya.....

The sentence is still incomplete. This section mentions the donee of the charter under study. He was *Paṇḍita* Halāyudhadevaśarmman (probably a resident of Avalla or Āvalla), who belonged to the Vātsya *gotra* and the five *Pravaras*, viz. Aurva, Cyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya and Āpnuvat, and was a student of a part of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda. The donee was the son of Adhyayadevaśarmman, grandson of Devadharadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Lakṣmīdharadevaśarmman.

XII. *Lines 64-68:* (*a*) Nāvye mahā[[uttarāyaṇa-mahāsaṁkramaṇe svaya[ṁ datta?]]]-saṁ-sā(ṁ*)-bhū-hi 100

(*b*) Nāvya-Madhukṣīraka-Vaṅga-bhāgeṣu mā[[tṛcaraṇānāma(nāṁ) dṛṣṭe naḥ]] soma-grāse datta-saṁ-sā(ṁ*)-bhū-hi 250

(*c*) Vikramapura-bhāge varṣa-vṛddhau kumāra-śrī-Sūryyasena-pradatta-saṁ-sā(ṁ*)-bhū-hi 25

(*d*) tathā hi sāndhi-Nāñīsiṁha-datta-saṁ-sā(ṁ*)-bhū-hi 25

(*e*) Phandradvīpe Urā-caturake krīta-śāsana-saṁ-sāṁ-bhū-hi 50

(*f*) tathā Pātilādivīke kumāra-Puruṣottamena datta-saṁ-sā(ṁ*)-bhū-hi 50

(*g*) militvā śrīmat-Sadāśiva-mudrayā mudrayitvā bhūcchidra-nyāyena tāmraśāsanīkṛtya pradatto = smābhiḥ yatra baraja-guvāk-āya-sameta-tāmra-śāsana-sāṁ-bhū-hi 500 (|*)

(*h*) tad = bhavadbhiḥ sarvair = eva anumantavyam (|*)

The sentence is concluded in this section. Subsections (*a*)–(*f*) refer again to the gift lands in different areas and mention the amounts of annual revenue allotted to them: (1) 100 Purāṇas per annum attaching to the gift land in Nāvya granted by the king himself on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti in his thirteenth regnal year (see section I); (2) 250 Purāṇas per annum attaching to the gift land in the Nāvya-Madhukṣīraka-Vaṅga area granted on the occasion of the observation of a lunar eclipse by the king's mother (see sections II–V); (3) 25 Purāṇas per annum attaching to the gift land in the Vikramapura Division granted by Prince Sūryyasena on the occasion of his birthday anniversary (see section VI); (4) 25 Purāṇas per annum attaching to the gift land in the same area granted by the *Sāndhi* (i.e. *Sāndhivigrahika*) Nāñīsiṁha (see section VII); (5) 50 Purāṇas per annum attaching to the gift land in the Urā *caturaka* in Phandradvīpa, which had been purchased by the donee as a *śāsana* or rent-free holding (see section VIII); and (6) 50 Purāṇas per annum attaching to the gift land at Pātilādivīka granted by Prince Puruṣottama (see section IX). Subsection (*g*) says that the plots of land were collectively granted as one lot by making it a *tāmra-śāsana* (i.e. a rent-free holding) according to the principle of *bhūcchidra* (i.e. rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by one who brings it under cultivation for the first time) and by endowing it with a stamp of the Sadāśiva seal (i.e. the royal seal of the Senas of Bengal). It is also stated that the income arising out of the *tāmra-śāsana*, together with the income of the betel-vine plantations and betelnuts, came up to 500 Purāṇas per annum. Subsection (*h*) requests the officials, etc., whom the king addressed (cf. lines 39–41 of the inscription), to approve of the grant made by him.

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MADANPĀṚĀ PLATE OF VIŚVARŪPASENA

By D. C. Sircar

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In the year 1892, N. N. Vasu secured a copperplate grant discovered in the village of Madanpāṛā (near Piñjāṛi) in the Koṭālipāṛā Pargana of the Faridpur district now in East Pakistan. He edited the inscription with Plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLV, 1896, Part I, pp. 6–15. The copperplate was subsequently acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, although later it could no longer be traced in the Society's collection. Unfortunately Vasu's transcript of the grant portion of the charter is full of lacunae and errors while the facsimile of the inscription published by him is not a faithful reproduction of the original. Owing to this difficulty, N. G. Majumdar, while re-editing the record in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 133–39, failed in improving considerably upon Vasu's treatment. He observed, 'This portion of the text being extremely corrupt and full of scribal mistakes, it is difficult to say what is actually intended' (*op. cit.*, p. 138, note 4). As will be seen below, these remarks are unjustifiable. The text of the grant portion of the charter is fairly free from scribal errors while the meaning of it is quite clear. In the following pages, I am placing before scholars my reading and interpretation of the grant portion of the Madanpāṛā plate for their kind scrutiny.

Early in the year 1952, I was travelling in certain regions of Eastern India in search of inscriptions. In the course of this tour, I happened to visit Dacca, now headquarters of the Government of East Pakistan, in the second half of February. There, through the kindness and courtesy of the authorities of the Dacca Museum, I had an opportunity of examining the copper-plate grants preserved in its collection. The authorities were also gracious enough to allow me to take photographs and mechanical impressions of the inscriptions. On an examination of the records on the spot, I was very glad to find that one of them was no other than the 'lost' Madanpāṛā plate of Viśvarūpasena. The impressions of the inscription were carefully examined by me some time later when the errors in the published text and interpretation of the grant portion of the epigraph became quite clear to me. But, before entering into that subject, it is necessary to refer to an exceptionally interesting feature of the grant. This is the fact that a large number of passages on the plate, especially in the grant portion of the charter on its reverse side, have been engraved on erasures. They raise certain problems which require careful consideration.

It is well known that the Madanpāṛā and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–48, 177-8, with plates) plates of Viśvarūpasena and the Idilpur plate (*ibid.*, pp. 118–31; see *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 43–51 and Plates) assigned to Keśavasena, supposed to be the younger brother and successor of Viśvarūpasena, have practically the same set of introductory stanzas. This introductory part deals with the Sena kings: (1) Vijayasena, his son (2) Ballālasena, his son (3) Lakṣmaṇasena, and his son (4) either Viśvarūpasena or Keśavasena who was the reigning monarch. More than half of the stanzas describe the reigning king and his father Lakṣmaṇasena. In this section in verse, three stanzas are very interesting. The first and

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second of them describe Lakṣmaṇasena while the third introduces the issuer of the charters. They are quoted below.

(1) pūrvaṁ janma-śateṣu bhūmi-patinā saṁtyajya mukti-grahaṁ
nūnaṁ tena sut-ārthinā Suradhunī-tīre Haraḥ prīṇitaḥ |
etasmāt katham = anyathā ripu-vadhū-vaidhavya-baddha-vrato
vikhyāta-kṣitipāla-maulir = abhavac = chrī-Viśvarūpo nṛpaḥ ||

This is verse 10 of the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates and verse 11 of the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate. N. G. Majumdar translated the stanza as follows: 'In hundreds of previous births, that king (i.e. Lakṣmaṇasena), leaving aside all care for liberation, surely propitiated Śiva, on the bank of the Ganges, being desirous of having a son. Otherwise how could be born to him the head of the princes, the illustrious king Viśvarūpa who was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives?' He takes the word *etasmāt* in the sense of 'from this [king, i.e. Lakṣmaṇasena].' It may also mean 'owing to this [reason, i.e. the propitiation of Śiva referred to in the first half of the stanza],' although the implication of the verse as a whole remains the same.

(2) yāṁ nirmmāya pavitra-pāṇir = abhavad = Vedāḥ satīnāṁ śikhā-
ratnaṁ yā kim = api sva-rūpa-caritair = viśvaṁ yay = ālankṛtam |
Lakṣmīr = bhūr = api vāñchitāni vidadhe yasyāḥ sapa[tnyor= (or
°tnī°)] dvayaṁ
śrīmaty = Ahvaṇadevy = amuṣya mahiṣī s = ābhūt = tri-vargg-
ocitā ||

This is the reading of verse 15 of the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate of Viśva-rūpasena. But in the published transcripts of the Madanpāṛā (verse 13) and Idilpur (verse 14) plates we have, in the place of the passage *dvayaṁ śrīmaty = Ahvaṇadevy = amuṣya*, respectively the passages *mahārājñī śrī-Tāḍā* (or *ndrā*)*-devi tad = asya* and *mahārājñī śrī-Cāndrā-devī svasya*[1]. It is clear that the passage quoted from the transcripts of the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates violate the metre horribly and can hardly be attributed to the original author of the stanzas. What is, however, more interesting is that, on the Madanpāṛā plate, the *akṣaras* read as *Tāḍā*(or *ndrā*)*devi* are incised on an erasure showing plainly that originally a different name, no doubt agreeable to the metre and in three *akṣaras* only, had been engraved in the space. This is also suggested by the expression *tad = asya* following the name in the Madanpāṛā plate, in which the word *tad* means 'therefore' the whole stanza implying that, owing to the enumerated qualities of the queen, she became to her husband as agreeable as the three *vargas*, viz. *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. The female name that had been originally engraved in the space in question and was later erased for the incision of a different name in four *akṣaras* (a fifth *akṣara* could have been merged in the preceding *śrī* in *Sandhi*) was thus written in three syllables, the first and second of which were short and the third long (e.g. *Varadā*, or *Indumatī* with the initial syllable merged in *śrī*).

There is reason to believe that, on the Idilpur plate also, the name of the queen, that had been originally engraved, was later erased and substituted by a different name.

(3) etābhyām Śaśiśekhara-Girijābhyām = iva babhūva Śaktidharaḥ |
śrī-Viśvarūpasenaḥ pratibhaṭabhūpāla-mukuṭa-maṇiḥ ||

[1] The actual reading of the last two *akṣaras* seems to be *muṣya* suggesting '*devy= amuṣya* as in the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate.

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This is the clear reading of verse 16 of the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate, which speaks of the birth of Viśvarūpasena from king Lakṣmaṇaseṇa and queen Abvaṇadevī mentioned in the immediately preceding verse quoted above. But, in the place of *śrī-Viśvarūpasenaḥ*, the transcripts of the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates have respectively *śrī-Viśvarūpasenadevaḥ* and *śrī-Keśava-senadevaḥ*. It is interesting to note that, on the Madanpāṛā plate, the *akṣaras Viśvarūpa* have been engraved on an erasure clearly indicating that originally a name in two *akṣaras* only was incised in the space. A superscript *r* on the second of these two *akṣaras* of the original royal name still remains undisturbed. Equally interesting is the fact that exactly these two features are also characteristic of the incision of the *akṣaras Viśvarūpa* in the royal name again occurring in the grant portion (line 38) of the plate. The erased name in two *akṣaras* must have read something like *Sūryya*, *Darppa*, *Garvva*, *Parvva*, etc.

Owing to the compression of four *akṣaras* in the space only for two and to the presence of the superscript *r* above the second of the two *akṣaras* originally incised, the *akṣaras Viśvarūpa* on the Madanpāṛā plate look like *viśvarrā* in line 22 (verse 14 quoted above) and *viśvarṛa* in line 38 in the grant portion. It is admitted that the *akṣaras Keśava*, read in the corresponding places in lines 24 (verse 15 quoted above) and 43 of the Idilpur plate, are similarly engraved on erasures. In Prinsep's retouched facsimile, the vowel-mark in the first *akṣara* of the name looks like *i*. The fact that the *akṣaras* looking like *viśvarra* on the Madanpāṛā plate may be quite easily confused with the familiar name *Keśava* leads me to feel that it is the name *Viśvarūpa* compressed in the space for two *akṣaras* on the Idilpur plate that was wrongly read by Prinsep's Pandit in 1838 as *Keśava*.[1] The transcript of the Idilpur plate contains numerous obvious errors. Considering the large number of mistakes committed by N. N. Vasu in 1896 (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLV, Part I, pp. 6ff.) and H. P. Sastri in 1926 (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. II, pp. 77ff.) in transcribing respectively the Madanpāṛā and Sāhitya Pariṣad plates and especially those noticed in the transcripts prepared by Prinsep's Pandits of such epigraphic records as the Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarman (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. IX, 1840, p. 766ff.; cf. *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 58ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 145ff.), I am almost sure about the possibility. I am therefore entirely in agreement with Vasu who already expressed this suspicion (*loc. cit.*; cf. also Bhandarkar's List, p. 238, note 8) upon an examination of the Madanpāṛā plate, attributed the Idilpur plate to Viśvarūpasena and referred the rule of Keśavasena to the imagination of one of Prinsep's Pandits. Indeed anyone having an opportunity to examine the Madanpāṛā plate or its faithful reproduction is sure to entertain this view.

We have seen that the name of the Sena king who originally issued the Madanpāṛā plate and probably also the Idilpur plate was something like *Sūryyasena*, *Darppasena*, etc. When the three stanzas quoted above are read together in the context of the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates, they give the idea that the issuer of these charters was a son of Viśvarūpasena. This is supported remarkably by the grant portion of the Madanpāṛā plate, in which, as will be shown below, the names of Ballālasena, his son Lakṣmaṇasena, his son Viśvarūpasena and his son (* * sena) have been erased and substituted respectively by those of Vijayasena, his son Ballālasena, his son Lakṣmaṇasena and his son Viśvarūpasena. It is again very interesting in this connection to note that lines 54 and 66 of the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate of Viśvarūpasena actually speak of a *Kumāra* or Prince named Sūryyasena

[1] The last letter of the name looks more like *pa* than *va* in Prinsep's facsimile. What has been read as *keśava* looks actually like *kiśvapa*.

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who was very probably a son of Viśvarūpasena. Under the circumstances, the name of the original issuer of the Madanpāṛā plate and very probably also of the Idilpur plate may be almost confidently restored as *Sūryyasena*. The mention of Viśvarūpasena as a king in his son's records and the substitution of the name of the son by that of the father in the 14th regnal year of the latter (*vide infra*) show that Sūryyasena ruled for some time between the beginning and end of the reign of Viśvarūpasena. The actual circumstances of the case cannot be determined; but it seems that Viśvarūpasena was temporarily incapacitated by being captured by some enemy or being attacked by some disease like madness from which his recovery was not expected. Sūryyasena was then raised to the throne; but he restored the crown to his father as soon as the latter returned or recovered. The passage *bṛhan-nṛpati-caraṇaih* in line 49 of the Idilpur plate seems to refer to Viśvarūpasena who was still living during Sūryyasena's reign. It may be noticed that Sūryyasena mentions his father respectfully and is himself mentioned in a later record of his father. He does not appear to have been a rebel against Viśvarūpasena.[1] Sūryya adapted for his charters the draft of his father's records, in which he put his own name in the place of his father's and his mother's name in that of his grandmother's. This he could very easily do as in his father's record the name of Viśvarūpa occurs once earlier in the description of Lakṣmaṇasena, although this adaptation led Sūryya to use in his father's description a few stanzas which describe his grandfather in his father's Sāhitya Pariṣad plate.

The name of king Sūryyasena's mother cannot be restored with confidence. It is unrecognizable under the re-engraved name of his grandmother. The two *akṣaras* (following *śrī*) of this re-engraved name of Viśvarūpasena's mother are extremely doubtful; this is because the *akṣaras* originally incised were not completely erased and the new *akṣaras* were engraved on the traces of the old ones. I suspect that the reading intended is *śry-Ahvaṇadevi tasya* (*śry-Ahvaṇa-devy* = *amuṣya* in the Idilpur plate) in conformity not only with the metre but also with the information supplied by the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate. The word *devi* for *devī* is not correct, although it is often adopted by versifiers for the metre's sake (e.g. in verse 8 of the Kureṭhā plate of Malayavarman under publication in *Ep. Ind.*). The adoption of the rather unorthodox spelling for metrical necessity shows, however, that the officers responsible for the erasure were fully conscious of the requirements of the metre. The fact, as will be shown below, that entire lines of the inscription have been erased and re-engraved on the reverse of the plate also suggests that, instead of writing *Tāḍā*(or *ndrā*)*devi* which goes against the metre (and also against the information of the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate), they would have erased some more *akṣaras*, originally engraved, and reincised a suitable passage.

The grant portion of the Madanpāṛā plate runs from line 31 to line 60. We shall take up this part section by section. The language of the record is Sanskrit which is, however, influenced by the local dialect. We have not corrected the passages which violate the rules of Sanskrit grammar especially in regard to *Sandhi*.

I. *Lines 31–38:*

(*a*) iha khalu Phasphagrāma-parisara-samāvāsita-śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt

(*b*) samastasva(su)praśasty - upeta - Arirājavṛi(vṛ)ṣabhaśaṅkara - Gauḍeśvara-śrīma(d *)-Vijayasenadeva-pād-ānudhyāta-

[1] Of course the possibility of the father being temporarily overthrown by the son is not precluded entirely.

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(*c*) samastasupraśastyupeta - Arirājaniḥśaṅkaśaṅkara - Gauḍeśvara - śrīmav-Va(d-Ba)llālasenadeva-pādānudhyāta-

(*d*) samastasva(su)praśastyupeta-aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-trayādhipati - Senakulakamalavikāsabhāskara - Somavaṁśapradīpa - pratipannakarṇṇa - satyavratagāṅgeya - śaraṇāgatavajrapañjara - parameśvara - paramabhaṭṭāraka - paramasaura - mahārājādhirāja - Arirājamadanaśaṅkara - Gauḍeśvara - śrīma(l*) - Laksma[ṇa]sena-deva-pād-ānudhyāta-

(*e*) aśvapati - gajapati - narapati - rājatrayādhipati - Senakulakamala - vikāsabhāskara - Somavaṁśapradīpa - pratipannakarṇṇa - satya - vratagāṅgeya - śaraṇāgatavajrapañjara - parameśvara - parama - bhaṭṭāraka - paramasaura - mahārājādhirāja - Arirājavṛi(vṛ)ṣabha - (bhā)ṅkaśaṁkara - Gauḍeśvara - śrīmat - Viśvarū(pa*)senadeva - pādā vijayinaḥ |

This section speaks of the reigning king and his three ancestors and also of the locality whence the charter was issued. Subsection (*a*) shows that the grant was issued from a locality called Phasphagrāma. I do not think that the name can be read as *Phalgugrāma*. In subsection (*b*) which mentions the great-grandfather of the reigning king, the *akṣaras vṛi(vṛ)ṣabha* in *Arirāja-vṛṣabha-śaṅkara* bear clear traces of being re-engraved on an erasure offering space for three *akṣaras*. It can be clearly seen that the first of the three erased *akṣaras* was *niḥ* its *visarga* sign and *i-mātrā* being still visible.[1] It is almost certain therefore that the passage originally engraved was *Arirāja-niḥśanka-śaṅkara* which was the title of Ballālasena. Similarly, the *akṣaras Vijaya* after *śrīma* seem to have been written on a space where *d-Vallāla* had been originally incised, although the traces of the original letters are not quite clear in the case, apparently because the old *akṣaras* were here more successfully erased. Subsection (*c*) mentions the grandfather of the reigning monarch. In this subsection, exactly as in subsection (*b*) discussed above, *niḥśaṅka* in *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara* and what is intended to read *d-Vallāla* are very clearly re-engraved on erasures. It appears that what was originally *lla* was erased and substituted by what is intended to read *dva*. This suggests that the original reading of the passages concerned was *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara* and *śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena*. In the second of the two passages *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara* and *śrīmal-Lakṣamaṇasena* in subsection (*d*), *l-Lakṣamaṇa* is obviously incised on an erasure offering space for no less than four *akṣaras*. Moreover an *i-mātrā* of the first of the erased *akṣaras* is still traceable. I am confident that the four *akṣaras*, after erasing which *l-Lakṣamaṇa* was engraved, read *d-Viśvarūpa*[2] in the original writing. It should be remembered that the only known Sena king having a name in four syllables was Viśvarūpasena. Moreover Lakṣmaṇasena is here described as a *parama-saura*, although he was really a Vaiṣṇava. This anomaly is quite clearly explained by the fact that the official responsible for writing *l-Lakṣamaṇa* after erasing the name of Viśvarūpa who was really a *parama-saura* as known from his Sāhitya Pariṣad plate, forgot to change *saura* into *vaiṣṇava*. As no other member of the Sena family before Viśvarūpasena was a Saura, it must have been his name that was erased. Consequently, in *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara*, the *akṣaras madana* must have been engraved on an erasure. Unfortunately the traces of the erased *akṣaras* are not clear in this case. Another point to be noticed is that here *madana* does not cover a space

[1] The original *n* was changed into *v* merely by retouching its loop.
[2] The letter *pa* underneath *ṇa* can be clearly traced.

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required for more than three *akṣaras*, although, according to the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate, Viśvarūpasena's *biruda* was *Arirāja-vṛṣabha(bhā)ṅka-śaṅkara* and in that case the *akṣaras* erased to make place for *madana* would be four, viz. *vṛiṣabhāṅka*. It however appears to me that the original writing had *Arirāja-vṛṣabha-śaṅkara* (cf. the *biruda* of Vijayasena, great-grandfather of Viśvarūpasena) and not *Arirāja-vṛṣabhāṅka-śaṅkara*. Thus *madana* seems to have been incised after having erased *vṛṣabha*. In subsection (*e*) the *akṣaras vṛi(vṛ)ṣabha* in what is intended to read *Arirāja-vṛṣabhāṅka-śaṅkara* are engraved on an erasure. But the three *akṣaras* have been incised in a space for two letters only. The facts that *ṅka* after the erasure belongs to the original writing and that the *i-mātrā* of the first of the two erased *akṣaras* is still visible suggest that *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara* was originally engraved. We have already discussed how the four *akṣaras Viśvarūpa* have been written on an erasure offering a space for only two *akṣaras* and how these two erased *akṣaras* may have read *Sūryya*. Attention has to be drawn to the expression *śrīmat* prefixed to the name. In *Sandhi* the word suits the name *Sūryya* but not the name *Viśvarūpa*.[1] The person responsible for the substitution of the former name by the latter did not change *t* into *d-Vi* through oversight, although this would have provided him with some space which he badly required. It seems that Viśvarūpa was an *Arirāja-vṛṣabha-śaṅkara* (or °*bhāṅka*°)[2] like his great-grandfather Vijayasena, while Sūryyasena assumed the title *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara* in imitation of his own great-grandfather Ballālasena. It has to be noted in this connection that Prinsep's facsimile of the Idilpur plate, although it is retouched, still bears traces of re-engraving on erasures in this section exactly as the Madanpāṛā plate. In *Arirāja-asahya-śaṅkara* (epithet of the so-called Ke´avasena), as read in the Idilpur plate, *asahya* is a wrong reading for *vṛṣabha* written on an erasure of letters that appear to have read *niḥśaṅka*. The first consonant still looks more like *n* than *v*.

II. *Lines 38–41:* samupagat-āśeṣa-rājanyaka.... viṣayapaty-ādīn = anyāṁś = ca sakala-rājapādopajīvino = dhyakṣapravarān caṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātīyān vrā(brā)hmaṇān vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ottarāṁś = ca mānayanti vo(bo)dhayanti samādiśanti ca (|*) viditam = astu bhavatāṁ ...

This section refers to the subordinates, dependants and officials of the king as well as others whom the king addressed in announcing the grant recorded in the charter.

III. *Lines 41–43:* yathā Pauṇḍravarddhana-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Vaṅge Vikramapura-bhāge pūrve Aṭhayāgagrāma-jaṅghāla-bhūḥ sīmā dakṣiṇe Vārayīpaḍāgrāma-bhūḥ sīmā paścime Uñcokāṭṭīgrāma-bhūḥ sīmā uttare Vīrakāṭṭī-jaṅghāla-sīmā itthaṁ catuḥsīm-āvacchinnaḥ(nna°) ...

This section shows that the gift land was situated in a village in the Vikramapura Division of Vaṅga which formed a part of the *bhukti* or Province of Pauṇḍravarddhana. The boundaries of this village are also stated. It was bounded in the east by an embankment and a piece of land belonging to the village called Aṭhayāgagrāma, in the south by a piece of land belonging to Vārayīpaḍāgrāma (literally 'a village consisting of a habitation of the Bārayīs or betelvine-growers'), in the west by a piece of

[1] Cf. the other royal names in this section joined in *Sandhi* with the preceding *śrīmat*.

[2] *Vṛṣabhaṅka* may be a mistake for *vṛṣabha*.

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land belonging to Uñcokāṭṭīgrāma and in the north by the embankment belonging to the village of Vīrakāṭṭī. In this section, a few letters in the name of the village standing in the eastern boundary of the gift land may have been engraved on an erasure. But this is of little importance.

IV. *Lines 43–46:* Piñjokāṣṭhīgrāma-ma[dh]yāt Kandarpaśaṅkar-āśramīya-Padātiśāpāmārka-sāṁ-vā(dvā)triṁśat-purāṇ-ottara-cūrṇṇī-śat-aika 132 va(ba)hiḥ 500 tathā Kandarppaśaṅkar-āṁśa-bhūmau Nāraṇḍapagrāme svakīya-pālya-svaṁ sā(ṁ*)-hi [1]27 dvābhyāṁ sapta[v]iṁśati-purāṇ-ādhika-sāṁ-cūrṇṇā(rṇṇī)-śaṭśatik-otpattika-Piñjokāṣṭhīgrāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ s-oṣaraḥ sa-guvāka-nārikelas = tṛiṇa-yūti-paryyanta uparilikhita-catuḥsi(sī)m-āvacchinnaḥ Piñjoṭhīyagrāmo = yaṁ . . .

With the exception only of the last three *akṣaras* (viz. *grāmo = yaṁ*), this entire section is engraved on erasure. Clear traces of the erased *akṣaras* are still visible under many of the *akṣaras* in this section. The passages in lines 43–45 (from the beginning of this section down to *nārikelas =* [*tṛiṇa-yū*°) are written in *akṣaras* which are smaller in shape and pressed against each other. This was done for the fear that all the *akṣaras* might not find space enough to be accommodated in the blank created by the erasure. But when the work of re-engraving had reached the beginning of line 46, it was found that the remainder of the *akṣaras* were not sufficient to fill up the remaining space created by the erasure. The *akṣaras* in *°ti-paryyantaḥ ..... Piñjoṭhīya*° were therefore incised in a bigger size and with more space between any two of them than even in the original part of the writing.

This section shows that the gift land was situated in the village of Piñjokāṣṭhī or °kāṭṭī or °ṭhīya (*°kāṭhīya ?*) (modern Piñjāṛi), the boundaries of which are enumerated in section III. A portion of the village yielding an annual (*sāṁ = sāṁvatsarika*) income of 132 Purāṇas or Cūrṇṇīs was excluded (cf. *bahiḥ* = Bengali *bai*) and only the remainder yielding 500 Purāṇas or Cūrṇṇīs per annum was made the subject of the grant. The smaller part of the village, yielding 132 Purāṇas per year, was known as Padātiśāpāmārka and belonged to the *āśrama* of Kandarppaśaṅkara, apparently the name of a saintly person or a deity. It may have been a deity named after Lakṣmaṇasena whose *biruda* was *Madanśaṅkara*, the same as *Kandarppaśaṅkara*. It appears that, in the original grant of Sūryyasena, the whole village of Piñjokāṣṭhī (otherwise called Piñjokāṭṭī or Piñjoṭhīya) was granted in favour of the donee of the charter and sometime later, when it was brought to the notice of the authorities that a part of the village really belonged to the Kandarppaśaṅkara *āśrama*, the necessity of changing the language of the document was felt. The donee's loss of 132 Purāṇas or Cūrṇṇīs per year was sought to be compensated by an additional gift of a piece of land yielding 127 Purāṇas or Cūrṇṇīs annually (cf. *sāṁ-hi = sāṁvatsarika-hiraṇya*). This piece of land was situated in the village of Nāraṇḍapagrāma belonging to the share of the said *āśrama* of Kandarppaśaṅkara; but it was the property of a dependant of the king, i.e. it formed part of a *jāgīr* enjoyed by one of the king's dependants. Thus the donee received two pieces of land, one at Piñjokāṣṭhī (°kāṭṭī or °ṭhīya) and another at Nāraṇḍapa, together yielding an annual revenue income of 627 Purāṇas or Cūrṇṇīs. That the two plots of the gift land situated in two different villages were still collectively referred to as *Piñjoṭhīyagrāmo = yam* seems to be due to the influence of the original document in which, as suggested above, the whole of this village was granted. The officers probably did not feel any necessity of changing the language of this part of the record because only a small portion

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of the neighbouring village of Nāraṇḍapa was now added to the donee's share which mainly consisted of the major portion Piñjokāṣṭhī.

V. *Lines 46-53:* Śivapurāṇ-okta-bhūmidāna-phalaprāpti-kāmanayā ..... śrī-Viśvarūpadevaśarmmaṇe vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vidhivad = utsṛjya Sadāśiva-mudrayā mudrayitvā bhūcchidra-nyāyena caturdaśay-āvdī(bdī)ya-Bhādra-dinā tāmraśāsanīkṛtya pradatto = 'smābhiḥ | yatra catuḥsīm-āvacchinna-sāṁ-śāsanabhū-hi 627 (|*) tad = bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair = ev = ānumantavyaṁ bhāvibhir = api nṛpatibhir = apaharaṇe narakapāta-bhayāt pālane dharmma-gauravāt pālanīyam |

In this section the intended reading for *dinā* may be *dina 8* while *sāṁ-śāsanabhū-hi* stands for *sāṁvatsarika-śāsanabhūmi-hiraṇya*, i.e. the annual revenue income of the gift land in coins or cash. But what is more interesting is that, in *caturddaśay-ābdīya*, *caturddaśa* is incised on an erasure offering space only for two *akṣaras*. The *i-mātrā* of the first of these two *akṣaras* originally engraved and the *ī-mātrā* of the second of them are still traceable. There can hardly be any doubt that the original reading here was *dvitīy-āvdī(bdī)ya*. Thus Sūryyasena's grant was made in the second year of his reign while the corrections in the document, as will be seen below again, were effected in the fourteenth regnal year of Viśvarūpasena. The second could not have come very long after the first.

This section says that the gift land in question was granted as a *tāmraśāsana* (i.e. rent-free holding), according to the principle of *bhū-cchidra* to the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa-devaśarmman. It has to be noticed that the Brāhmaṇa Iśvardevaśarmman,[1] donee of the Idilpur plate, was a brother of this Viśvarūpadevaśarmman. The grant is stated to have been endowed with an impression of the Sadāśiva seal which was the royal seal of the Sena kings. The section concludes with the mention of the total revenue income of the gift land, viz. 627 Purāṇas or Cūrṇṇīs per annum, and the king's entreaty for the protection of the grant.

VI. *Lines 53–58:* bhavanti c = ātra dharmm-ānuśaṁsinaḥ ślokāḥ ‖ ..... para-kīrttayo vilopyāḥ ‖

This section quotes some of the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

VII. *Lines 58–60:* saciva-śata-mauli-lālita-pad-āmvu(mbu)jasy = āṇu-śāsane dūtaḥ | śrī-Kopiviṣṇur = abhavad = Gauḍa-mahāsāndhi-vigrahikaḥ ‖ śrīman-mahāsā-karaṇa-ni ‖ śrī-mahā-maṇattaka-karaṇa-ni ‖ śrīmat-karaṇa-ni ‖ saṁ 14 Āśvina-dine 1 ‖ ‖

The date *Saṁ 14 Āśvina-dine 1* has not been engraved on an erasure. Possibly the space, on which it is incised, was blank in the original charter. This section says that Kopiviṣṇu, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war) of Gauḍa, was the *dūta* or executor of this grant of the king. *Śrīman-mahāsā-karaṇa-ni* stands for *śrīman-mahāsāndhivigrahika-karaṇa-nibaddha*. The word *nibaddha* here apparently means 'registered or passed or endorsed.' The occurrence of the word *dṛṣṭam* in the same context on some of the Early Pallava and Vākāṭaka charters may suggest that *ni*

[1] Prinsep's facsimile shows that the name was re-engraved on an erasure offering space for a slightly bigger name than *Iśvara*. The name erased may have been that of Viśvarūpadevaśarmman. The change of donee possibly necessitated the modifications in the record carried out at a later date.

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stands for *nirīkṣitam*. The document was thus recognized first by a clerk of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, then by a clerk of the *Mahāmaṇattaka* and finally by a clerk of the *Śrīmat*, i.e. the king himself. Recently it has been suggested that *ni* stands for the sixth case-ending (*Proc. I.H.C.*, 1950, p. 107). This is quite impossible in view of the fact that *ni* stands singly in many cases in the copperplate grants of the Pālas (cf. the Bangarh and Belwa plates of Mahīpāla I, the Amgachi and Belwa plates of Vigrahapāla III, etc.),[1] not to speak of the unconvincing nature of the association of an early Central Asian linguistic trait with a medieval East Indian one without any connecting link.

[1] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 2, 9, etc.

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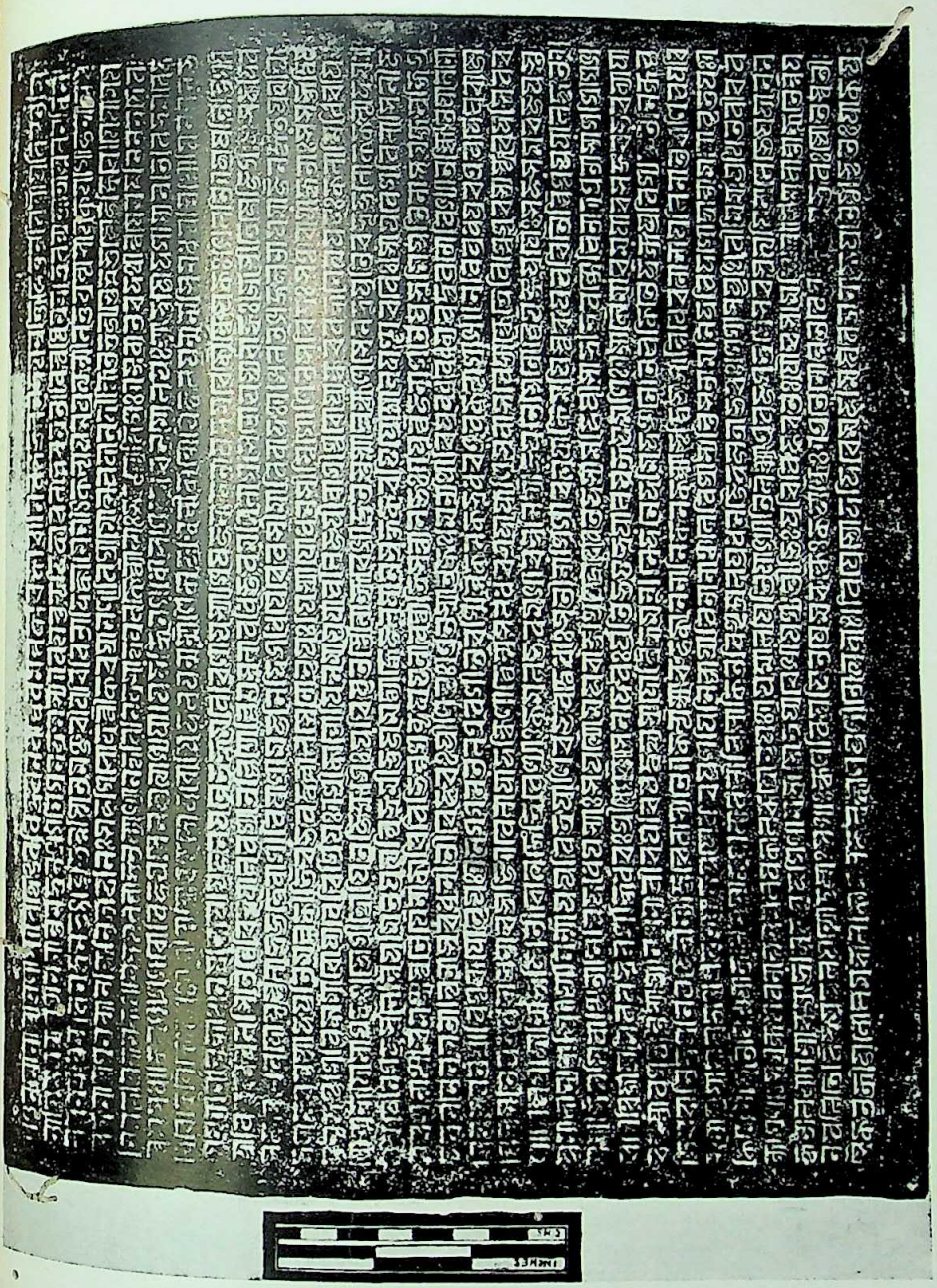

Madanpārā Plate of Viśvarūpasena—Obverse.

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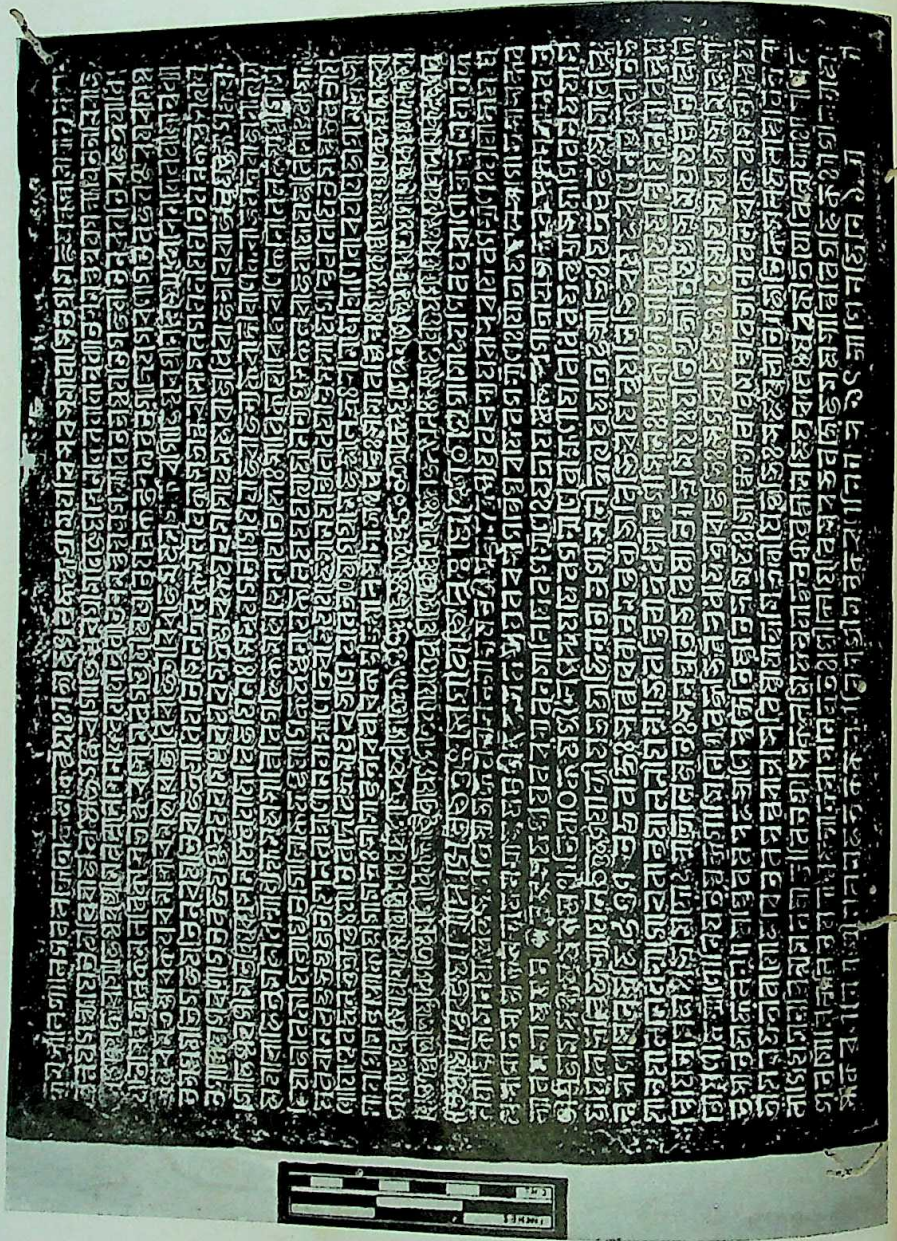

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SOME INTERESTING ANECDOTES OF SHER SHAH FROM THE RARE PERSIAN MS. OF *TAZKIRAT-UL-MULUK*

By N. B. Roy

(*Paper received on 11th February, 1954*)

The important episodes of Sher Shah's and Islam Shah's career are known to us from a number of chronicles composed either by historiographers attached to the Mughal Court or by Afghan panegyrists like Abbas Sarwani and Ibrahim Batani.[1] But Sayyid Rafiuddin Ibrahim Nuruddin bin Taufiq Shirazi, a cultivated nobleman of the Adil Shahi court, offers a very lively account of the Suri dynasty, in the history of the Bijapur Sultans—*Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*. Sayyid Rafiuddin served Ali Adil Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah II in various capacities, from 967 A.H. till 1020 A.H. and during his early youth he visited Delhi and Sasseram in 967 and 969 A.H. respectively. He then evidently heard accounts which were stranger than fiction of the circumstances relating to the overthrow of the emperor Humayun and the assumption of royalty by Hasan Khan's son, Farid, and the passing away of the Afghan sovereignty. Half a century after this journey he undertook the compilation of the *Tazkirat* (1017–1020 A.H.), when he wrote about some of the events connected with the Suri dynasty from his memory. Naturally he made misstatements, such as placing the first engagement between Sher and Humayun at Shergarh, the Afghan king losing his life in the course of testing a gun at Sasseram, and Islam Shah being assassinated by his refractory nobles. These blemishes, no doubt, reduce the historical value of this work, but his account of Sher's capture of Rhotas is very cogent and corresponds in material points to that of Niamatullah. The same remark would apply also to his narration of Humayun's disastrous rout, which according to the Mughal version, was due to the emperor's delay in taking to fight because of his preoccupation with devotional exercises in the early morning hours. According to Rafiuddin, however, the delay was due to the emperor's constipation. He also appended other interesting items, such as (i) Bairam Khan was forced to skip and dance in the course of his flight to please his rustic captors, (ii) Himu was a *kothiwala* under the Afghan kings, and superintended the privy purse, crown-lands, armoury, *et cetera*, and (iii) Sher's body was blown to atoms by an explosion, the only remain was his leg with the boot which was found perched on the top of a tree. This gruesome end of Sher has been befogged in the Afghan chronicles by the insertion of the more edifying version of the Afghan king being half-burnt and having attained martyrdom after hearing the news of the fall of Kalinjar.[2] This extract, if not of much historical value, represents the popular version of how the Afghans suddenly rose to royalty and how their rule ended.

Tazkirat-ul-Muluk is a manuscript very rare in India; copies of it are known to exist in the Mulla Firuz library, Bombay, and the Asafiya Library,

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[1] *Vide*, the writer's article in the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX, 1953.
[2] *Vide*, Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, 141.

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Hyderabad.[1] The present extract has, however, been taken from the copy in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's library and my thanks are due to him for permission to use it.

English Translation

ACCOUNT OF HUMAYUN'S MARCH TOWARDS BENGAL FOR THE CONQUEST OF THAT KINGDOM AND SOME OTHER EVENTS

Emperor Humayun, having through his good fortune and luck, resolved upon an excursion to Bengal, set out for that country. Since Sher Khan's army lay to the right of his army's route, he issued a firman summoning him to the effect, 'Humayun's forces are on the march towards Gaur and Bengal and it behoves the eminent Khan, to arrive with the utmost humility and devotion before the royal presence with great expedition.' When the firman reached Sher Khan, he thought over the contents, wrote out some excuses, and laid out certain plans in order to consolidate his affairs. His territory was adjacent to the fort of Rhotas which was renowned and famous and unequalled on the face of the earth, so much so that, according to popular belief, it constituted a world by itself.

It is recorded that there were thirty villages on its top; it was so spacious and there was so much cultivation that a considerable quantity of cereals was obtained for sale annually from the surroundings of this fort.[2] There was a considerable flow of water from its top. There were fruit-bearing orchards and a single narrow path led up to it which could not be negotiated on horseback.

A Hindu prince ruled with absolute authority over this fort. About this time Sher Khan cultivated great friendship with him and used to send goods and presents to gain his goodwill. This intimacy was so deep that anything higher than it could not be thought of. When Humayun on his march toward Bengal, summoned Sher Khan to his presence, the latter sent a trustworthy messenger to the ruler of Rhotas, saying 'it was clear Humayun was bent upon destroying me; his real object behind this excursion is to crush me. Surely he would march across this region and sweep me off. I am not afraid of being killed, (but) I view it as a great disgrace that he should make ravages across my territory and it would remain a blot on my honour. If you grant me shelter in this rocky fortress to save my honour, I, with a composed mind, shall fight Humayun as long as I live and would either accomplish my object or make my exit from the world with a good name. This is the hour for showing manliness and help. Keep my honour under the shadow of your protection.' He took into consideration Sher Khan's request and after much deliberation and thought consented that Sher Khan should send his harem in palanquins to the fort. The latter maintained a large harem. Having arranged nearly a thousand palanquins, he put his womenfolk in three hundred of them and armed men in the remainder and sent all of them away to the fort. The Raja of Rhotas stationed old women at the portal of the fort in order that they might inspect the palanquins by lifting the veils and then grant them admittance. They admitted, about three hundred of them, after examination. As the litters carrying the males were about to enter the gateways,

[1] Rehatsek—*Catalogue of the Mulla Firuz Library*, 74. In the Asafiya Library Catalogue, the title is given as *Tuhfat-ul-Muluk* (Storey, *History of Persian Literature*, Sec. 2, 743).

[2] The size of Rhotasgarh may be understood from the description in the *Shahbad District Gazetteer* 'The remains of the fortress occupy a part of the plateau about four miles east to west and five miles from north to south with a circumference of nearly twenty-eight miles'. *Shahbad District Gazetteer*, 178.

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the palanquins that had already gone in, turned round. The ruler of the fort enquired as to the cause of this step. 'They said, Sher Khan had countermanded (the conveyance of women inside the fort). He had sent them to the top of the fort with a view to safeguard their honour. (But) the people inside the fort had seen all of them for which it was not consistent with their dignity to keep them there.'

While this discussion was going on, the group of porters that had carried the litters and had concealed their arms therein, getting the opportunity to unsheath their swords, rushed at the Raja and cut him to pieces. Joined by the large number of followers and attendants who were waiting outside the fort, Sher Khan advanced to the gateway with drawn sword where there was none to bar them, except a handful of men who were also put to the sword. The entire force of Sher Khan seated either inside the palanquins or transporting them, entered the fort which was captured and its defences strengthened. When the news reached Sher Khan, he climbed up to the top of the fort and made a reconnaissance of it. He offered thanks to the Almighty God and rubbed his forehead on the dust of supplication. He made gifts to the deserving and then turning towards his companions said, 'I had calculated that I would get the upper hand over Humayun, if I could take this fort. Praise be to God, the Creator of both the worlds, that this fortress has been captured.[1] Now was the preparation to be made for war with Humayun.' Equipage and implements and all extra baggage were sent to the top of the fort and he set himself to equipping an army and preparing for battle. As it was decreed by Heaven that Sher Khan should become victorious over Humayun and rule with absolute authority for some time, the ruler of Rhotas became negligent and lost his fort and his life, otherwise how could such a stronghold slip out of his hand?

Account of the auspicious return of Nasiruddin Muhammad from Bengal and of his falling a prey to the fatal misfortune of the time

When Humayun reached Bengal, he happened to come in conflict with the chiefs of this country. He made commendable efforts to subjugate this province and issued instructions for the reduction of the fort. As the climate of the province did not agree with their constitution, a serious epidemic broke out in his army which daily carried away a large number of men. Lamentation arising in the whole army, Emperor Humayun was forced to abandon all hope of conquering this country and started for Agra. When he reached Shergarh[2] which was at a distance of six stages from that city, he laid out his tents on the bank of the Ganges, in order to get his army safely across the river which was wide and deep.

At this time news arrived that Sher Khan was coming in full force with a view to hostilities. When the matter was reported to the Emperor, he said, 'Sher was not a fellow worth bothering about.'

Persian: 'Do you know what Zal said to champion Rustam?
Don't underrate the enemy and hold him in contempt.
I have seen many men drinking water at the source of the spring, (but) when it gains in volume, it sweeps off the camel with the load.'

[1] This stratagem adopted by Sher in taking Rhotas is supported by Niamatullah and Abul Faz, text I, 153. Dorn gives a different story on the basis of Abbas Sarwani.

[2] It should be Chausa.

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He was coming either to do honour or to offer apology. How do you think of anything else than this?

It was again reported that Sher Khan was advancing with all speed. The following day intelligence was brought of his having reached the neighbourhood of the imperial camp. The emperor, without giving any direction, retired to the privy. As he was in the habit of taking opium, he suffered from constipation, for which he had to stay long in the privy. Upon Mirza Askari, brother of the emperor Humayun obstructing Sher's path, a battle ensued. Attacks and counter-attacks from both sides followed. When the battle-cry of the brave warriors reached the highest point of the heaven, the emperor said, 'What is this noise about?' He was told 'Askari Mirza is engaged in fighting'. As the emperor came out of the privy, his eyes fell on Sher Khan's standard. He mounted his horse and having looked about, wheeled round towards the Ganges. When the army viewed the state of affairs, all of them followed suit. The river was very broad and deep and troops beyond limit and count; hence horses and elephants clambered over one another. So many of these animals were drowned in the river that a big dam was formed mid-stream, causing the whole plain and the camp to be flooded with water. A water-carrier of the royal kitchen named Sambal[1] was trying to swim across the river on an inflated water-skin. He happened to catch sight of the emperor who, having lost hold of his horse, was struggling in the water. He went up to him and taking him by the arm, put him on the water-bag. Getting out of the river the emperor stood for a while on the bank, took a view of the army and found it nearly annihilated. Due to the death of a large number of persons, there was hardly any room for swimming in the river or getting upon the bank. He heaved out of his sorrowful heart deep sighs and unable to stand the awful sight of the destruction of his forces, took the road towards Agra with a small retinue. The situation is brought out in the verse that follows:

Verse: 'Someone you exalt and raise to kingship
While you consign another to fish in the river.'

Verse: You confer royalty on Farid, son of Hasan
And you deliver Humayun to fishes in the river.[2]

Askari Mirza followed his brother into the Ganges. Sher Khan pursued him to the bank and having viewed the situation, shed bitter tears over their plight. The avenging Lord drove away His Holiness Sulaiman[3] (May peace be on him) from his throne of royalty to seek out a fisherman in the river Nile in the same way as he reduced the emperor Humayun to distress with a view to punish him. Owing to the conceit and pride which had surpassed all bounds, Almighty God had ordained the Caesar of Rome to be brought in company with Kaikhusrau of Iran.[4] Humayun reached Agra with a handful of men. His companions having heard of it left him

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[1] Gul-badan Banu, f. 36A, mentions this name but according to Jauhar, Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Feristah and Badauni, the name was Nizam. Gul-badan Banu's exact words are :—

نام آن غلام مشخّص نشنیدیم بعضی نظام میگفتند و بعضی سنبل میگفتند

[2] According to Badauni, Sher Shah himself composed the above lines, (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*) A.S.B. text, I, 352.

[3] As a punishment for his lapse into idolatry, Sulaiman lost his kingdom (*Ency. Islam.*, IV, 519).

[4] *Holy Qurán*, by Yusuf Ali, f.n. 1929, p. 739.

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in the lurch. Finding it inexpedient to stand by him they started for Kabul. The revenue officers with their contingents and others holding posts in different stations in the country got perplexed and confused at this blood-curdling news. Abandoning their hearth and home and honour, they set out in the wake of the emperor towards Kabul.[1] The inhabitants of the places, like reptiles, chased them in all directions and cut down groups of Mughals at every convenient opportunity whenever they assembled.

Needy men intercepted the Mughals in course of their journey. Some took away the horses' saddle cloth; others struck them down by lathi-blows on their head from behind, seized and took away the horse and other appurtenances.[2] It is said that, nearly twenty thousand horsemen forming Humayun's escort were killed by these men. None could cite precedent for such a terrible disaster since the foundation of the world. May God protect us.

Bairam Khan,[3] the foremost grandee of the emperor Humayun, who had been endowed with the title of *Khan-i-Khanan* and held the rank of a minister was apprehended by some farmers. They stripped him of his clothing and beat him with the stick saying, 'Go on dancing, you Mughal donkey' and the accomplished man did so by swaying his hands and feet, saying 'Alas! my destiny'.[4] These words have become a proverb and now pass from mouth to mouth. After the Almighty God delivered him from this predicament, he reached Qandahar and stayed there until he joined the emperor Humayun in India and rose to the exalted position which would be set forth in its proper place.

Account of Sher Shah's gaining the sovereignty of India by the Grace of Almighty God

After Humayun's flight, Sher Shah Suri halted for a few days on the bank of the Ganges. Having sent scouts in all directions, he enquired about the state of affairs and learnt from them that Humayun hastened to Kabul with a handful of men. Sher Shah deputed one of his officers named Shihabuddin with four thousand cavalry to Agra so that he might exert in promoting the prosperity (of the kingdom) by giving assurances to the ryots and report to him day by day the situation as he found it. Shihabuddin, having secured the intelligence from all quarters, reached Agra unopposed and with an easy mind. The city was in great turmoil and thronged with people who were in great uncertainty and perplexity as to what would befall them. Nearly ten thousand outsiders including merchants, soldiers and children were in Agra; they were put to the sword, their wives, sons, daughters and goods were given up to pillage.[5] When

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[1] This is evidently wrong.

[2] *Vide*, Gul-badan Banu's *Humayun-Nama*, Eng. tr. 143, for trouble caused by the Gawars in course of flight from Agra to Lahore. Abul Fazl mentions an encounter with the Gawars (translated by Beveridge into villagers) in course of the flight from Bilgram, *Akbar-Nama*, A.S.B. text, 167.

[3] Bairam Khan risked his life in the battle at Qanouj and fled towards Sambhal. On the way he was given asylum by Raja Mitrasen of Lakhnur from which place he fled towards Malwa, and from there to Surat. Abul Fazl relates that he was intercepted on the way to Malwa by Sher Khan who embraced him at the interview. (*Akbarnamah*, I, 185-186). The details may be read in *Akbarnamah*, and *Masir-ul-Umara*. *Op. cit.*, I, 371–384.

[4] The word in the MS. is تاجو which has been corrected into تاجو by Prof. K. M. Maitra of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

[5] According to Ibrahim Batani's *Tawarikh-i-Majlis-Ara'i*, miscalled *Makhzan-i-Afghani* by Dorn, Brahmajit Gaur was the commander who put a large number of Mughals to death at Agra. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, 128.

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this news reached Sher, he became very angry and detached one of his slaves, Khawas Khan, who had risen to the position of a grandee and was virtuous, saintly, God-fearing, benevolent and tender-hearted, with a body of 5,000 cavalry against Shihabuddin. He (Khawas Khan) was instructed to apprehend and execute Shihabuddin in the middle of the bazaar at Agra as an object-lesson to the people and to revive the spirits of the survivors. The sons and daughters of the Mughals who were pillaged and taken captive were again gathered together and sent back to their home. The goods that had been plundered were traced out and made over to the captives. He cherished them to such an extent that it greatly alleviated their sufferings. All those people who had concealed themselves in various places came out to render him homage. Sher Shah, with his mind composed about all matters started for Agra, firmly established himself on the seat of royalty and kingship and shed lustre and radiance by ascending the throne. He adorned the world with justice and equity and attracted men to his side by means of liberality. He made all people happy by his benefactions. He personally attended to the affairs of high and low and admitted them to public audience. People having any request or petition were admitted without let or hindrance and the suitors went back happy, after having their claims settled. The officers deputed to the districts exerted their utmost in doing justice and equity.

It is said that a sepoy who had kept his switch (*chabuk*) in his quiver, lost it on the way. He became aware of it after some time. As it was a trifle he did not go out in search of it. The news reaching Sher Shah, he summoned the sepoy and asked him where it had been dropped. Having obtained the name of the exact locality, he sent a group of men who arrested the headmen of the adjoining villages and threatened all of them with pain of death unless they produced that switch. The headmen put forward many excuses saying 'the lash has fallen on a way which is a common thoroughfare. How can we ascertain as to who picked it up and where he had gone away? As it could not be traced out, we shall make reparation according as the king is pleased to order us.' Sher Shah said, 'I have no need of your money. That is not what I aim it. My object is that if a piece of needle or tooth-pick drops down at a place, it should not be taken away by anybody, rather be sent to my court, so that I may restore it to its owner and this regulation might remain a memorial of mine in the world. You should be on the search for it and bring it to me as early as possible or I would punish you all.' He ordered the *muqaddams* to be put into prison. People now set to search for the whip. Day after day the king began to press for it when it was found with a tender child. This stripling was brought before Sher Shah. One of his hands was cut off and his father was severely reprimanded. Sher admonished and reproved the owner of this whip so that people might be attentive to their task.

The fame of his justice spread over the whole country. He ordered a *serai* and a village to be set up on the highway at every $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile throughout the kingdom, shops and kitchens to be built, so that the travellers might feel at ease. If a person travelled $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles or fifteen miles, he found each place provided with ample provision. Highway robbery was totally eradicated from the kingdom. The entire territory became so flourishing that it was beyond imagination. He assembled a large army which he deputed to the frontier. In whatever direction his force was despatched they returned victorious and exultant within a short time.

His dominion extended from Bengal to the borders of Kabul. He trained up the nobility and raised them to high position, appointing each of them magistrate under his authority. His powers and capacity were

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not inferior to any other monarch. Obedience and submission rendered to Sher Shah reached such a level that if anybody rose in rebellion, a single trooper was sent who brought the head of the rebel (to Sher). Such was the degree of obedience rendered.

He spent nearly seven years in grandeur and prosperity on the throne of royalty. People lived in complete security and contentment. Countless merchants used to come and go from Turkey, Syria, Persia and Transoxiana, in large numbers and with immense quantity of goods. None could bring to their lips the word 'disloyalty'. It was out of great bounty that the merciful Almighty God appointed him over the denizens of the Universe. In fact, he was the main spring of benefaction which Almighty Providence sent down for the people.

Account of the passing away of Sher Shah and the reign of Salim Shah

Sher Shah passed most of his time near the foot of that Rhotas which is a township with a fort. It is better known as Sasseram [1] where lies the tomb of his father. He ordered a cannon to be made which was done after his liking. Once he went to inspect it and ordered it to be tested by charging it with gun-powder. He was standing near by when it was fired. But due to some obvious defect, it exploded and the splinters so struck the persons that they were cut to pieces and were strewn about in all directions. When after some time the intensity of fire and the smoke of the gun-powder had subsided, neither the king nor his attendants were found in their respective places. The scattered pieces of their flesh were found lying about and none could identify them. After a long search, one leg of Sher Shah which was recognized by the boot was found on the top of a tree; the pieces of flesh were collected and buried in one place. The limb which was taken to be that of Sher Shah was interred by the side of his father. The writer of these lines visited the spot in 969 A.H.

There is a large tank in the middle of which lies a raised platform. Upon it rests the mausoleum of Farid and his son Salim Shah.[2]

Salim Shah Sur

After Sher Shah's death, Salim Shah established himself on the throne of sultanate and sovereignty. His brother assembled troops and set on foot hostilities with a view to seizing the throne. Repeated engagements took place between them. In the end Salim Shah persuaded Khawas Khan to go, placate and bring him over to his presence in order that he might put out this unrest by making a division of the empire. Khawas Khan, after much expostulation and persuasion, won him over to the cause of peace and brought him to the presence of Salim Shah. The latter showed him great respect but got him murdered at a convenient opportunity. As Khawas Khan had been mainly instrumental in inducing Adil Shah to visit the court, he got very disgusted with this proceeding. Several emirs were also offended at this misdeed, engendering hostilities thereby between Salim Shah and the nobles. The former wanted to crush

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[1] The text here is corrupt; the word used is Shahzad which is corrected by me into Sasseram.

[2] Hasan Khan's tomb lies in the centre of Sasaram town; while in the middle of the tank, about half a mile north-west of Sher Shah's tomb, stands Salim Shah's cemetery. (*Shahabad District Gaz.*, 184-185.)

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all of them and had two or three emirs assassinated at a convenient opportunity. One of them was Khawas Khan who enjoyed the title of Masnad-i-Alâ but is popularly known at present by the name of Khawas Khan Masnad-i-Ala. His tomb is situated in the centre of the Delhi Bazaar and people revere him for his saintliness and miraculous powers. Besides bread and soup, nearly twenty maunds of *Chungal* otherwise called *Malidah* by the people of Hindustan—one maund of which weighed in Akbari standard of measurement was equal to nine maunds of Tabriz—were distributed. Many faqirs resided in this shrine and the adjoining places. Offerings brought from many places were expended here freely. The people of India held him in so much esteem that they reckoned him superior to prophets and saints. He was pious, abstemious and noble-minded and kept the table open for the public and carried in his own hand the wash-basin and the ewer. Service of the people was carried to such a length that bread, sweets and pastry were always kept ready for distribution among them in the mosques and the tombs. Each piece of bread and pastry had inside it a gold coin, weighing three dirhams. This fact is well-known in this region.[1]

When Salim Shah became strong enough to exterminate the nobles, he sent Khawas Khan in pursuance of that object. Salim Shah put Khawas Khan to death by way of atonement for their blood. His reign lasted seven years after which the kingdom was split up into small parts. Sikandar Sur was in Lahore and the neighbourhood; Himu who was in charge of Sher Shah's treasury (Kothiwala) brought under his management the provinces of Nagor, Narnol and the adjoining territories which supplied the royal revenue. Kothiwala is that person who is entrusted with the (royal) private funds, manufactories, armoury, weighing of gold, gem and other valuable things. He was one of the many chieftains such as Baz Bahadur in Hinduan, Shihabuddin in Agra and Delhi and Jalal Shah in Jaunpur who had the power of commanding and countermanding, doing and undoing and divided the country amongst themselves. Having entered into a conspiracy, they put Salim Shah to death [2] and issued coins and promulgated the khutba in their own names. Sometimes they came to clash, took possession of each other's property and again made peace.

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[1] For more details about Khawas Khan's charity—*vide*, *The Successors of Sher Shah*, by N. B. Roy, 46–48.

[2] This again is wrong.

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RAGHUNANDANA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO HIS PREDECESSORS

Part III

By Bhabatosh Bhattacharya

Paper received on 17-5-54

(Communicated by Sri Rakhahari Chatterjee)

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APPENDIX B

Identification of quotations from works of the Mediaeval Period

A—Bengal

I. Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa

Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa

1. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. P.P.

p. 478 = p. 9 —तथा च दृष्टान्ततया ज्ञानकृतपापस्य भवदेवभट्टेनापि शूद्रगत ....मात्रफलम् इत्यभिहितम् ।

p. 516 = p. 33 —स्त्रीणां विशेषमाह भवदेवभट्टधृतं 'वपनं....स्मृतम्' ॥
(Just following a text of Yama but having no author's name affixed to it in P.P. It seems to be a text of Parāśara (the second verse being Par. II. 9. 54*b*-55*a*) according to Mit., quoted just below on p. 516 of P.T. and of the Padmapurāṇa according to P.V., quoted on pp. 152-53 of Vr.T.)

pp. 520-1 = p. 33 —यथा भवदेवभट्टधृतयमवचनम् 'अस्थिभङ्गं...पिबेत्' ॥

p. 521 = p. 29 —भवदेवभट्टसम्मता तु द्वादशधेनव इति पूर्वोक्ता च दक्षिणा देया ।

p. 524 = p. 30 —मध्यमवचनं भवदेवव्याख्यातं यथा....प्रायश्चित्त-मूहनीयम् ।

p. 528 = p. 32 —भवदेवभट्टैस्तु निपातने कूपावटादिषु इति व्याख्यातं तदपि युक्तम् ।

p. 535 = pp. 31-2 —इतरत्रापस्तम्बोक्तम् 'कान्तारेष्वथवा...विधीयते' इति ज्ञेयम् । एतद्वचनं यमस्येति भवदेवभट्टः ।

p. 536 = p. 34 —भवदेवभट्ट-हरिनाथोपाध्यायधृतं संवर्तवचनम् । 'शृङ्ग... न विद्यते' ॥

p. 539 = p. 43 —यद्यपि द्रवद्रव्यस्य...सिद्धमिति सुरापाने भवदेवभट्टोक्त-वच्चाण्डालान्नभक्षणेऽपि सकृदभ्यासविचारः ।

p. 540 = p. 58 —अत्र कामत.....भवदेवभट्टोक्तसमुच्चयायोगाच्च.... व्यवस्थितो विकल्पः ।

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2. Śuddhitattva

S.T. P.P.

p. 240 = pp. 18-19 —तथा च भवदेवभट्टाः । 'एकस्मै . . . तन्त्रत्व 'मित्याहुः ।

p. 352 = p. 71 —अत्र स्वत्वहेतुभूतव्यापाररूपार्जनगणे चौर्य्यस्यापि निर्देशात् चौर्य्योपात्तद्रव्येऽपि यथेष्टविनियोज्यत्वेन शास्त्रगम्यत्वरूप-स्वत्वमस्तीति प्रतीयते । भवदेवभट्टसम्मतोऽयं पक्षः ।
(P.P.'s very words are: यथा क्रयणादिना पूर्वस्वामिनः स्वत्वविनाशेनोत्तरस्वामिनः स्वत्वापादनं तथा स्वविनियोगाभिसन्धानपूर्वक-स्थानान्तर-सञ्चारणादिव्यापारेण पूर्वस्वामिनः स्वत्वनिरासेन चौरस्यापि स्वत्वापादनम् ।)

Ia. MEDHĀTITHI

Commentary on Manusmṛti

1. Dāyatattva

D.T. Medh.

p. 184 = —पत्युरदत्तेऽपि तदनुज्ञया परिहितो अलङ्कारस्तावतैव भार्य्यायाः स्वीयो भवतीति मेधातिथिः ।
(Wanting in the printed editions.)

Ib. GOVINDARĀJA

Commentary on Manusmṛti

1. Dāyatattva

D.T. Gov.

pp. 191-2 = —अतएव गोविन्दराजधृतो विष्णुः । 'अपुत्रपौत्रे संसारे दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः । पूर्वेषां हि स्वधाकारे पौत्रदौहित्रका समाः' ।
(Occurring after Manu. IX. 133, quoted just above but not found in Govindarāja's com. on the same as it is wanting in chap. IX after v. 71.)

II. JIMŪTAVĀHANA

(a) *Kālaviveka*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. K.V.

p. 24 = pp. 144-5 —न तु सौरे मासि तिथिद्वयलाभान्मानवृद्धिर्जीमूतवाहनोक्ता ग्राह्या ।

pp. 52-3 = pp. 498-9 —जीमूतवाहनस्तु न हि तिथिभान्ते . . . नियमाभावादित्याह ।

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T.T. K.V.

p. 103 = ——अत्रोक्तविरुद्धवचनानि . . . जीमूतवाहन . . . प्रभृतिभिः अनादृतानि ।

p. 106 = p. 444 ——कालविवेक-संवत्सरप्रदीपप्रभृतिषु कूर्मपुराणम् । 'एकादशीम् . . . बोध्यानि' ।

pp. 107-8 = p. 443 ——'एकादशीं . . दशमीयुताम्' इति कालविवेक . . . धृतभविष्यपुराणैकवाक्यत्वात् ।

p. 141 = p. 383 ——कालविवेके . . . . शातातपजाबाली । 'पूर्णे . . . मकरकर्कटौ' ।

p. 144 = pp. 383–7–8 ——जीमूतवाहनोऽपि कालविवेके 'अह्नि . . . दानयोः' . . . . विशेषविहिता नाड्य इत्याह । अतएव तद्धृतजाबालि-बृहस्पति-शातातपवचनमपि संगच्छते । यथा 'वर्तमाने . . . . दश' ।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. K.V.

pp. 340-1 = pp. 453-4 ——उपवासे चेति पाठे कालविवेके चकारादनुक्तादिष्वपि व्याख्यातम् ।

3. Malamāsatattva

M.T. K.V.

pp. 766-7 = pp. 93-4 ——अतो भूयसामनुरोधेन वैशाखादयः . . . इति जीमूतवाहनोक्तं युक्तमिति ।

pp. 773-4 = pp. 119–126 ——यत्तु पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिक . . . कैश्चिददमिति कालविवेके जीमूतवाहन आह स्म ।

p. 778 = p. 119 ——यदि जीमूतवाहनोक्तं यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्येति . . . . ।

p. 820 = p. 344 ——'चतुर्मासे . . . यावन्न सुप्यते हरिः' ।। अत्र यावद्विष्णु-महोत्सव इति जीमूतवाहनः पठति . . . व्याख्याति च ।

" = p. 344 ——व्यासवाल्मीकिगर्गा इत्यत्र व्यासवाल्मीकिशिष्या इति जीमूतवाहनः पठति ।

p. 834 = p. 137 ——'अस्ते सन्ध्यागते . . . . . देवविलोकनम्' । एतद्वचनद्वयं कालविवेकेऽपि ।

p. 849 = pp. 165-6 ——यत्तु तस्मिंस्त्रयोदशं . . . . . प्रतिप्रसवाच्च इति जीमूतवाहन-व्याख्यातं तदपि चिन्त्यम् ।

4. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. K.V.

pp. 3–5 = pp. 376–8 ——तत्र कालविशेषा . . . . . जीमूतवाहनेन लिखितं यथा । 'निमित्तं . . . . कालमात्रमपेक्षते' ।

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E.T. K.V.

p. 15 = p. 426 —जीमूतवाहनेनापि . . . . . प्रयोगाच्चेत्युक्तम् ।

pp. 20–21 = pp. 453-4 —जीमूतवाहनेनापि उपवासे चेति पठित्वा चकारादनुक्तादिष्वपीति व्याख्यातम् ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 340-1 of A.T.)

p. 28 = p. 438 —अधिकारिविशेषणापेक्षया . . . हेयमिति जीमूतवाहनः ।

pp. 36-7 = pp. 426–8 —जीमूतवाहनः । 'एकादश्यां . . . . निषेधार्थ 'मित्याह ।

p. 38 = pp. 434–6–7 —जीमूतवाहनश्च । 'यदीच्छेद्विष्णुना . . . नित्ये स ' इत्याह ।

p. 40 = p. 437 —न च नित्ये निषेधः . . . जीमूतवाहनोक्तं युक्तम् इति वाच्यं सदापदश्रुतेः ।

p. 46 = p. 443 —तथा च कालविवेक-कृत्यमहार्णवयोर्भविष्यपुराणम् । 'एकादशीं . . . दशमीयुता 'मिति ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 107-8 of T.T.)

p. 47 = p. 440 —'एकादशी द्वादशी च . . . पारण 'मिति . . . यतो जीमूतवाहन . . . प्रभृतिभिस्तद्वचनमभिहितं . . . व्याख्यातञ्च ।

pp. 49-50 = pp. 443–5 —तथा च कालविवेके जीमूतवाहनः । 'एकादशी दशाविद्धा . . . . बोद्धव्यमित्याह स्म ।

p. 51 = p. 443 —जीमूतवाहनादिलिखितकूर्मपुराणसौरधर्मोत्तरविरोधात् ।

p. 53 = p. 446 —तेन जीमूतवाहनप्रभृतीनां मते . . . पारणमिति वर्तुलार्थः ।

p. 87 = p. 431 —कालविवेकधृतवराहपुराणञ्चाशक्तौ 'उपवासासमर्थस्तु . . . . प्रयोजयेत् ' ।

p. 88 = pp. 456-7 —अत्रैकभक्तादीनाम् . . . . अतोऽस्यायोग एवेति जीमूतवाहन आह स्म ।

pp. 99-100 = pp. 265-7 —काश्यपपञ्चरात्रे 'मच्छयने . . . मम जायते ' निमित्तं . . . . . अन्नादिकमप्युपलक्षणमिति जीमूतवाहनः ।

pp. 103–5 = pp. 169, 175–185, 225 —जीमूतवाहनस्तु भविष्ये । 'आभाकासितपक्षेषु . . . . मिथुनेऽसंक्रान्ते इति शेषः ।

5. Śuddhitattva

S.T. K.V.

p. 339 = p. 320 —कालविवेकेऽग्निपुराणम्—'एकादशाहे प्रेतस्य . . . शास्त्रचोदितः ' ।

6. 'Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. K.V.

p. 529 = p. 320 —कालविवेकेऽग्निपुराणम्—'एकादशाहे प्रेतस्य . . . शास्त्रचोदितः ' ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 339 of S.T.)

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(*b*) *Vyavahāramātṛkā*

1. Dāyatattva

D.T. V.M.
p. 179 = p. 344 ——व्यवहारमातृकायां बृहस्पतिः। 'यद्येकशासने..... हानिञ्चोपेक्षया तथा'॥

2. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. V.M.
p. 199 = p. 294 ——युक्तिर्न्यायः स च लोकव्यवहार इति व्यवहारमातृका।

p. 208 = p. 301 ——प्रतिपक्षावस्कन्दनात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमिति जीमूतवाहनः।

p. 213 = p. 319 ——एको लुब्धस्त्वसाक्षी स्यादिति जीमूतवाहनधृतपाठस्तु न युक्तः।

p. 214 = p. 328 ——तेषां वाक्यन्तु मित्रारिभावादिनिरूपणे...न तु वाक्यमात्रादिति व्यवहारमातृका।

p. 218 = p. 312 ——यत्तु 'अनेकार्थाभियोगे....दातव्यम्' एवमेव विश्वरूपजीमूतवाहनप्रभृतयः।

p. 225 = p. 342 ——आगमस्त्विति आ सम्यक् गम्यते....क्यादिरिति व्यवहारमातृका।

3. Divyatattva

Div.T. V.M.
p. 581 = p. 316 ——व्यवहारमातृकायां 'समत्वं.....तत्र साक्षिणः'।

p. 583 = p. 279 ——प्राड्विवाकसमाख्या तु पृच्छतीति प्राट् विवेचयतीति विवाक इति व्यवहारमातृका।

(*c*) *Dāyabhāga*

1. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. D.B.
p. 482 = pp. 350–3 ——अतएव जीमूतवाहनप्रभृतिभिरुक्तं यथा मुद्गापचारे..... यत्किञ्चिदवयवसत्त्वेनापीति।

2. Malamāsatattva

M.T. D.B.
p. 802
pp. 806-7 } = p. 322 ——अतएव षोडशिग्रहणाभावे...न ऋत्वर्थः स्यादिति दायभागः।

——ये तु ब्रुवते....विकल्पाभावप्रसक्तेः ऋत्वर्थतया.... न ऋत्वर्थः स्यात् तस्मादुक्तनयाद्विकल्प इति दायभागः।

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3. Dāyatattva

D.T.	D.B.	
pp. 163-4	= pp. 262-3	—विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा. . . प्रीतिपूर्वकाभिसन्धानं विना इत्यभिदधता दायभागकृतापि स्वहस्तितम्. . . . अत्र चौर्यं न भवतीति वक्ष्यते ।
pp. 173-4	= pp. 211–3	—यदि भवान्. . . . . प्रदर्शनार्थन्तु कात्यायनेन विस्तारितमिति दायभागः ।
p. 174	= p. 187	—विभृयादित्येकवचननिर्देशान्न. . . . . तस्याधिकारः ।
,,	= p. 187	—तत्रोच्चरितविद्यापदमुभाभ्यां. . . . . न्यूनविद्याविद्ययोः ।
,,	= pp. 91–99	—अर्जकस्य तु द्वयंशित्वं. . . . . पितृद्रव्योपघातादगुणवत्त्वाद्वेति दायभागः । . . . . . इतरेषामनंशित्वम् ।
pp. 174-5	= p.217	—पुनः कात्यायनः । 'गोप्रचारश्च. . . . . विभजनीयम् । एवमेव दायभागमदनपारिजातादयः ।
p. 176	= p. 189	—अत्र भ्रातर इत्युपलक्षणं. . . . . भागकल्पना कार्य्येति दायभागः ।
,,	= p. 66	—न च 'स्थावरस्य. . . . . दानाधमनविक्रये' इति व्यासवचनाभ्यामेकस्य. . . . . न तु विक्रयाद्यनिष्पत्त्यर्थमिति दायभागः ।
p. 177	= p. 219	—भूमौ तु विशेषयति शङ्खः । 'पूर्वनष्टाञ्च. . . तुरीयकम्' । . . . . तन्न दायभागमिताक्षराप्रभृतिधृतत्वात् ।
p. 178	= p. 47	—दायभागे हारीतः 'जीवति पितरि. . . . . ज्येष्ठोऽर्थांश्चिन्तयेत्' । . . . . कार्य्यज्ञ इत्याह ।
p. 182	= pp. 350–3	—यथा मुद्गापचारे. . . . . परद्रव्यव्यवहर्तुरपीति जिनेन्द्र-दायभाग-प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृन्मतम् । (Almost the same as the quot. on p. 482 of P.T.)
p. 194	= p. 330	—संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीत्येतद्वचनं. . . . . न भ्रातृमात्रविषयमिदं वचनमिति जीमूतवाहनः ।
,,	= p. 328	—दायभागकारास्तु अन्योदर्य्यस्तु. . . . . गृहीतव्यमित्याहुः ।
p. 196	= p. 333	—अतएव दायभागकृता ननु. . . . पूर्वमधिक्रियते इत्युक्तम् ।
p. 197	= p. 339	—दायभागकृतापि. . . . . स्वहस्तितमिति ।

4. Suddhitattva

S.T.	D.B.	
p. 347	= p. 28	—द्रव्यमर्जयन्. . . . . दक्षिणादानादेव स्वत्वादिति दायभागः ।
p. 383	= p. 179	—'असंस्कृतः. . . . . वेदपारगः' इति दायभागधृतात् ।
pp. 390-1	= p. 175	—तदभावे यथाक्रमं दायभागोक्तोपकारतारतम्येन । 'मातुलो . . . . वेदविदां स्थितिः' इति शातातपवचनात् ।

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III. Aniruddha

(*a*) *Hāralatā*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. H. pp. 68-9 = p. 104 —नृपतीनामात्मप्रतिनिधिभूतः.....कर्तव्यमिति हारलता-प्रभृतयः।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Śr.T. H. p. 321 = p. 19 —न चास्य पूर्वपक्षोत्तरभावेन व्यवस्था हारलतोक्ता युक्ता।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. H. p. 503 = p. 193 —प्रेतगणोपगूढां.....अस्थिप्रक्षेपमन्त्रः इत्यनिरुद्धभट्टाः।

4. Udvāhatattva

U.T. H. p. 108 = p. 97 —पिण्डनिवृत्तिः सप्तमे पञ्चमे वा इति हारलताधृतगोतमसूत्रे।

5. Śuddhitattva

Ś.T. H. p. 238 = p. 115 —न चैतत् सद्यःशौचं...कर्तव्यमिति हारलतादत्तविषयत्वेन नैतद्विषयकमिति वाच्यम्।

" = p. 115 —अग्निजलसंग्रामप्रविष्टानां...मरण इति हारलता-दर्शनाद्।

p. 250 = p. 18 —मुखं दृष्ट्वेति.....तन्मुखदर्शनानन्तरमेवेति हारलतोक्तं हेयम्।

p. 259 = p. 61 —'समानं लघु चाशौचं पूर्वेणैव विशुद्धयति' इति हारलता।

pp. 259-60 = p. 61 —मनुवचनेन पुनर्मरणजन्मनीत्यत्र पुनः शब्दो मरणमात्रेणान्वितो ....एवमेव हारलतादयः।

p. 262 = pp. 70-1 —एवञ्च तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमषष्ठमासेषु.....अनधिकारो बोद्धव्यः.....हारलताप्येवम्।

p. 264 = pp. 51-2 —अतःपरं प्रवृद्धानाम्.....पितुर्वरस्य चेति हारलता-प्रभृतयः।

p. 271 = —गर्भाष्टमेऽष्टमे वाब्दे ब्राह्मणस्योपनायनम् इति याज्ञ-वल्क्यादिति हारलता।

p. 272 = p. 45 —एतेन ऊनद्विवार्षिकस्यादाहेऽपि....हारलताप्रभृतिभिस्तु ....व्यवस्था कृतेति।

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S.T. = H.	
p. 272 = p. 47	—'यत्र त्रिरात्रं....वैश्ययोः' इति हारलताधृतवचनादिति चेन्न ।
p. 273 = p. 13	—मासेनैव तु शुद्धिः स्यात्....दशाहाद्यूर्द्धमिति हारलता....द्युक्तं साधीयः ।
p. 275 = p. 35	—किन्तु हारलतोक्तं सगुणविषयमेवेति युक्तम् ।
p. 279 = pp. 1-2	—'दन्तजाते...तथोच्यते' इति मनुवचने (V. 58) 'बान्धवाः सर्वे' इत्यत्र...हारलताव्याख्यानेऽपि पितृबन्धूनामप्यशौचमुक्तम् ।
p. 281 = pp. 76-8	—आचार्य्यपत्नी.....पक्षिणी एवं हारलताप्रभृतयः ।
p. 282 = p. 15	—तद्गृह इत्युपादानात् समस्तगृहकार्य्यकारिणी यस्येत्यर्थः इति हारलतादत्तविषयम् ।
pp. 285-6 = pp. 203-6	—'प्रमादादपि.....ब्राह्मणविषयापराधकरणान्निहता' इत्यनिरुद्धभट्टाः ।
p. 290 = p. 103	—कदाचित्कदानकारिणान्तु...कर्म कुर्वन्ति इति हारलताप्येवम् ।
p. 291 = p. 109	—नैष्ठिकस्य....दोषाभाव इति हारलताप्रभृतयः ।
pp. 291-2 = p. 103	—'आपद्यपि च.....विधीयते' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनेऽनिरुद्धभट्ट...प्रभृतिभिः...सद्यःशौचं विधीयते इत्युक्तम् ।
p. 306 = pp. 124-5	—उपेत.....भूसंस्कार इति हारलता ।
p. 307 = pp. 130-1	—दक्षिणादिचरण इत्यनेनोत्तरशिरस्त्वं.....हारलतापि एवम् ।
p. 309 = p. 193	—प्रेतगणोपगूढां.....इत्यस्थिप्रक्षेपमन्त्रः इत्यनिरुद्धभट्टः । (The same as the quot. on p. 503 of P.T.)
pp. 311-2 = pp. 149-50	—ॐ अपनः.....स्नातव्यमिति हारलता ।
p. 317 = p. 146	—अवहमिति.....स्नातव्यमिति हारलताप्रभृतयः ।
,, = p. 149	—यथावालं पुरस्कृत्येत्यस्य....वालपुरःसरमेवेति हारलता । अपसलानि अपसव्यानीत्यर्थः ।
pp. 322-3 = p. 161	—पिण्डयज्ञावृता देयं....तद्दानार्थञ्चेति हारलतादयः ।
p. 323 = pp. 165-6	—स एवेत्येवकारात्.....सर्वं कुर्य्यादिति हारलता ।
,, = p. 192	—अतएवापिशब्दो.....निश्चयार्थ इति हारलता ।
p. 324 = p. 165	—एवञ्च हारलतायां येन प्रथमः पिण्डो दत्त इति.....।

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S.T. H.

p. 329 = p. 104 —नृपतीनामात्मप्रतिनिधिभूतः . . . . . कर्तव्यमिति हारलता-प्रभृतयः ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 68-9 of T.T.)

pp. 329-30 = p. 111 —सप्ताङ्गराज्यस्य . . . . . अशौचं नास्तीति हारलता ।

p. 330 = p. 170 —दाशाहिकग्रहणात् . . . . . स्वधाप्रयोगोऽस्तीति हारलता ।

p. 331 = p. 170 —तस्मात् अनिरुद्धभट्टाद्युक्तः केवलपूरकप्रयोगो युक्त इति ।

p. 332 = p. 170 —तूष्णीं प्रसेकमिति . . . . जलाञ्जलिमिति हारलता ।

p. 335 = p. 174 —दशैतान् वेति वाकारो . . . त्रिरात्रेण इति हारलताप्रभृतयः ।

pp. 336-7 = p. 180 —यत्तु दत्तानां भर्तृगृहावस्थानेऽप्येकाहे दशपिण्डदानमुक्तं हारलताकृद्भिस्तत्र प्रमाणं न विद्मः । किन्तु दत्तानामित्यत्र . . . . . त्र्यहेणैव पिण्डदानमुक्तम् ।
(But the printed H. reads दत्तानां भर्तृगृहावस्थाने etc. just after दशपिण्डानेकाहेनैवेति etc., which must have been topsy-turvied in the MS. of the same, consulted by Raghunandana.)

p. 337 = p. 194 —कृतक्रियो . . . . . समाप्तदशाहकृत्य इति हारलता ।

p. 338 = p. 198 —द्विजदम्पती . . . . शय्यां दद्यादिति हारलताकृतः ।

p. 339 = pp. 198-9 —शय्यादानं . . . . तुल्याभिधानादित्यपि हारलता ।

p. 341 = p. 77 —अतएव दिवामृते दिनमात्रं रात्रिमृते रात्रिमात्रमिति हारलता-रत्नाकरादयः ।
(H. has got a paraphrase of the above statement.)

p. 396 = p. 98 —हारलतायां कूर्मपुराणम् । 'सपिण्डता . . . साप्तपौरुषम्' ।

" = p. 97 —लेपभागिभ्यस्तूर्द्धम् . . . . . तावत्समानोदकत्वमिति हारलता ।

p. 398 = p. 102 —निर्वाप्य पिण्डसम्बन्धेन . . . . . हारलता . . . . व्याख्यातत्वाच्च ।

p. 403 = p. 71 —गर्भस्रावे तु . . . . षष्ठदिनादिति हारलताप्रभृतयः ।

6. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. H.

p. 531 = p. 198 —द्विजदम्पती . . . शय्यां दद्यादिति हारलताकृतः ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 338 of S.T.)

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(*b*) *Pitṛdayitā*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. P.D.	
p. 13 = p. 54	—एतेनानुत्सृष्टजलेन . . . . पितृदयितायामुक्तो निरस्तः।
p. 174 =	—अत्र पितृदयिताप्रयोगान्यूनाधिकान्येतानि ।
p. 176 = pp. 15–7, 41	—अतएव पितृदयिता-कृत्यप्रदीपादिषु तथा लिखितम् ।
p. 178 = p. 34	—अतएव पितृदयिता . . . . . प्रभृतिभिः . . . . . करघर्षणं लिखितम् ।
p. 184 = p. 36	—अतएव पितृदयितादावाशीःप्रार्थने प्राङ्मुखत्वं नाभिहितम्।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. P.D.	
p. 200 = p. 32	—पुरूरवस ऊकारमध्यता पितृदयिता . . . श्राद्धविवेकेषु तथा लिखनात् ।
p. 202 = p. 27	—अतएव पितृदयितायां . . . गायत्रीजप उक्तः ।
p. 204 = p. 25	—न तु पितृदयिता . . . श्राद्धविवेकोक्तं गोत्रपर्य्यायकमपि सगोत्र-पदम् ।
p. 205 = p. 52	—'पुरूरवो . . . नमः' इति द्विवचनबहुवचनाभ्यां वाक्यरचना पितृदयितादौ लिखिता ।
p. 207 = p. 49	—तदनन्तरं . . . स्थापयेत् इति पितृदयिता ।
p. 209 = p. 26	—यत्तु अनिरुद्धभट्टेन पादयोरधः कुशासनदानमुक्तं तत्र प्रमाणं न विद्मः ।
,, = p. 28	—अत्रावाहनानन्तरं . . . पितृदयिता-श्राद्धकल्पादिषु तूष्णी-मित्यभिधानात् ।
p. 210 = p. 28	—अत्र . . . पितृदयितायाञ्च एतत्पितर इत्यनन्तरम् उशन्त-स्त्वेति लिखितेन ।
p. 214 =	—स च न्यासो दर्भस्तम्बोपरीत्यनिरुद्धभट्टः ।
p. 218 = p. 41	—अतएव पितृदयितादिष्वपि सर्वत्र प्रणवादित्वेनोल्लेखः ।
p. 220 =	—एवमेव अनिरुद्धभट्टप्रभृतयः ।
p. 221 =	—एवमेव अनिरुद्धभट्टप्रभृतयः ।
p. 222 =	—ततश्चानिरुद्धभट्टेन . . . यवविकरणमुक्तं तत् गोभिलसूत्रानु-पात्तत्वात् हेयम् ।
p. 231 = p. 30	—पितृदयितायामप्येवम् ।
p. 234 =	—अनिरुद्धभट्टप्रभृतिभिरपि तथा लिखितम् ।

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Sr.T.	P.D.	
p. 235	= p. 33	—अतएव अनिरुद्धभट्टेन . . . रेखाकरणमुक्तं तदशुद्धम् ।
p. 239	= p. 34	—अतएव पितृदयिता . . . प्रभृतिषु . . . करघर्षणं लिखितम् । (The same as the quot. on p. 178 of T.T.)
p. 241	= p. 35	—एवञ्च पिण्डपूजानन्तरं . . . . अनिरुद्धभट्टोक्तं . . . . प्रमाण-शून्यम् ।
p. 244	= p. 36	—अतएव पितृदयितादावाशीःप्रार्थने प्राङ्मुखत्वं नाभिहितम् । (The same as the quot. on p. 184 of T.T.)
p. 245	= p. 36	—अतएव . . . . अनिरुद्धभट्ट . . . . प्रभृतिभिर्मैथिलैश्च सपवित्र-कुशास्तरणमुक्तम् ।
„	= p. 44	—एवञ्च वासोदानानन्तरं . . . . पितृदयितायां यत् परिषेचन-मुक्तं तद्धेयम् ।
„	= p. 44	—अत्रोत्तानपात्रकृदिति . . . . भट्टेन यद्व्याख्यातं तद्गोभिल-श्राद्धसूत्रादर्शनात् ।
pp. 245-6	=	—'उत्तानं . . . . . दद्यादिति' एवमेवानिरुद्धभट्टप्रभृतिभि-र्लिखितम् ।
p. 247	= p. 37	—पितृदयितायामप्येवम् ।
p. 275	= p. 46	—अतएव पितृदयितायामन्नादिकमुपतिष्ठतामिति लिखितम् ।
p. 277	= p. 42	—न चात्र पवित्रमसि वैष्णव्य इति पितृदयितोक्तं युक्तम् ।
„	= p. 60	—न तु भूतार्थकचतुर्थलकारीय-मा-वृषायथा इत्यनिरुद्धभट्टोक्तो युक्तः ।
p. 293	=	—अतएव श्राद्धसूत्रे समन्वये मन्त्रदर्शनात्तत्रैव मन्त्रान्वयः पितृ-दयितादावुक्तः ।
p. 316	= p. 30	—एतेन पितृब्राह्मणयोर्हस्तोपरि उत्तराग्रं पवित्रं दत्त्वा . . . . दद्यादिति पितृदयितोक्तं निरस्तम् ।

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T.	P.D.	
p. 339	= p. 3	—अतएवोपस्पर्शमभिधाय ततो जलशेषं वामहस्ते त्यजेदिति पितृदयिता ।
p. 389	= p. 7	—तत्र सामगानां पितृदयितोक्तमन्त्रः 'आयाहि इत्यादि' ।
p. 390	= p. 7	—तत आवाहनानन्तरं ध्यानं महाप्रयोगसारे पितृदयितोक्त-समानम् ।
p. 393	= p. 8	—'महेशवदनोत्पन्ना . . . . प्रथेच्छया' इति पितृदयितोक्तेन सामगो विसृजेत् ।

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A.T. P.D.

p. 393 = p. 8 —पितृदयितायान्तु . . . . सामगेन कार्य्यम् ।

p. 394 = p. 8 —तदनन्तरं . . . . दद्यात् इत्यपि पितृदयिता ।

p. 421 = —यत्तु पितृदयितायामेकस्मिन् प्रयोगे . . . . तच्चिन्त्यम् ।

p. 424 = p. 23 —वायसबलिदानमन्त्रे . . . . पितृदयिता . . . . **नव्यवर्धमान**-धृत-'सौम्या' इति लिखनात् ।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. P.D.

p. 745 = p. 8 —जपे स्मृतिः 'कृत्वोत्तानौ . . . एवमुदाहृतः' । पितृदयितायामप्येवम् ।

p. 801 = p. 34 —अतएवानिरुद्धभट्टेनापि सर्वत्र वाक्ये . . . ये चात्रत्वेति वाक्यं लिखितम् ।

5. Śuddhitattva

S.T. P.D.

p. 314 = p. 76 —एतद्वचनाच्चितापिण्डदाने उपतिष्ठतामिति पितृदयितायामप्युक्तम् ।

p. 316 = p. 25 —न तु पितृदयिता . . . . श्राद्धविवेकोक्तं गोत्रपर्य्यायकमपि-सगोत्रपदम् ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 204 of Sr.T.)

p. 368 = pp. 26–37 —एवमेव पितृदयिता-दानसागरयोः ।

p. 380 = p. 90 —अतएव पितृदयिता . . . प्रभृतिषु मन्त्राभिधानपूर्वकवाक्येन वृषोत्सर्ग इत्युक्तम् ।

6. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. P.D.

p. 488 = p. 41 —अतएव पितृदयिता . . . श्राद्धदीपिकादिषु प्रायादिमत्त्वेनोल्लेखः ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 218 of Sr.T.)

p. 497 = —अत्र सामगयजुर्वेदिनोः श्राद्धसूत्रे समन्वयमात्रे मन्त्रदर्शनात्तत्रैव मन्त्रान्वयः पितृदयितादावुक्तः ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 293 of Sr.T.)

7. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. P.D.

pp. 553-4 = pp. 89–93 —एवमेव पितृदयिता-परिशिष्टप्रकाशप्रभृतयः ।

p. 560 = pp. 92-93 —अतएव भट्टेनापि वामदेव्यगानानन्तरं दक्षिणाभिहिता ततो दक्षिणात्रयं दद्यात् ।

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IV. Ballāla Sena

(*a*) *Adbhutasāgara*

1. Jyotistattva

J.T. A.S.
p. 704 = p. 5 —अद्भुतसागरे आथर्वणाद्भुतवचनं . . . सम्बोधयन्ति च'।

2. Malamāsatattva

M.T. A.S.
p. 765 = p. 117 —तथा चाद्भुतसागरे द्वादशवर्षफलप्रस्तावे . . . . कङ्गु-शमीजानि'।

(*b*) *Dānasāgara*

1. Āhnikatattva

A.T. D.S.
p. 341 = p. 59 —उपवासेन हेतुनेति दानसागरप्रायश्चित्तविवेकौ।

2. Malamāsatattva

M.T. D.S.
p. 796 = p. 417 —ब्राह्मणायोत्सृष्टं . . . . . देयमिति दानसागरः।

3. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. D.S.
p. 44 = p. 7 (Introductory v. 60) —विष्णुरहस्यानर्षत्वस्य दानसागरे अनिरुद्धभट्टेनाभिहित-त्वाच्च। यथा 'लोक . . . अवधार्य्येति'।

4. Śuddhitattva

S.T. D.S.
p. 347 = p. 417 —तद्धेम ब्राह्मणायोत्सृष्टं . . . . . देयमिति दानसागरः। (The same as the quot. on p. 796 of M.T.)

p. 350 = p. 17 —अत्र साक्षाच्छूद्र . . . . . योगीति दानसागरः।

p. 363 = p. 469 —लिखित्वा लेखयित्वेति दानसागरः।

p. 363 = —तत्प्रतिपत्तिमाह दानसागरे स्कन्दपुराणम्। 'यत् . . . . स्मृतम्'।

p. 366 = p. 445 —उपकरणं . . . . व्रतशीलाय इति दानसागरः।

p. 368 = —एवमेव पितृदयिता-दानसागरयोः।

5. Divyatattva

Div.T. D.S.
p. 588 = —दानसागरे धारयसे इत्यत्र भावयस इति पाठोऽनुपयुक्तः।

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6. Dīkṣātattva

Dik.T. D.S.
pp. 650-1 = p. 478 —लिखनविधिमाह दानसागरे 'शुभे . . . . मसीपत्रविधारणे'। (D.S. reads the last line as विद्याधरं प्रकुर्वीत हेमरूप्यमयं शुभम्।)

V. Halāyudha

Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva

1. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. B.S.
pp. 241-2 = p. 191 —'नमो वः . . . . . पितरो मन्यवे' . . . ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वे हलायुधेन व्याख्यातान् षड्तून् पितृरूपानेव नमस्कुर्य्याद्।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. B.S.
p. 378 = p. 120 —तेषां सम्बुद्धयन्ततामाह ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वे जातूकर्णः। 'प्रमीत . . . दद्यात्'।

p. 389 = pp. 69-70 —ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वे शङ्खयाज्ञवल्क्यौ। 'प्रणवो . . . . वै'॥

3. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. B.S.
p. 95 = —ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वे यजमानायेत्यत्र यजमानस्येति पाठः।

4. Śuddhitattva

S.T. B.S.
p. 315 = p. 120 —व्यक्तमाह ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वे जातूकर्णः। 'प्रमीत . . . . दद्यात्। (The same as the quot. on p. 378 of A.T.)

5. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. B.S.
p. 492 = p. 191 —ॐ नमो वः पितरः शुष्माय . . . . यथाश्रुतिः . . . . पितृणामन्नमिति ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वे हलायुधः।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 241-2 of Sr.T.)

VI. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa

Commentary on Manusmṛti

1. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. K.B.
p. 225 = III. 257
p. 226 = ,, , } —न चानुपस्कृतम् . . . . पूतिगन्धादिरहितमिति कुल्लूकभट्टव्याख्यानं युक्तम्।

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Sr.T. K.B.

p. 241 = III. 207 ——उदङ्मुखो भूत्वा...षड्तून् नमस्कुर्य्यादिति कुल्लूकभट्टेन तद्वचाख्यातञ्चेति वाच्यम् ।

p. 244 = III. 258 ——अतएव दक्षिणां दिशमाकाङ्क्षन्निति वीक्षमाण इति टीकाकारैर्व्याख्यातम् ।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. K.B.

p. 353 = X. 103 ——ज्वलनाम्बुसमाः अग्निजलतुल्या इति कुल्लूकभट्टः । (K.B. reads अग्न्युदकतुल्याः ।)

p. 454 = V. 127 ——वाचेति उपसंघातशङ्कायां...दीपकलिकाकुल्लूकभट्टौ ।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. K.B.

p. 472 = XI. 196 ——ततश्चासत्प्रतिग्रहमात्रपरतया यत् कुल्लूकभट्टव्याख्यानं (तत् प्रदर्शनमात्रपरम्) ।

p. 508 = IV. 152 ——मनुवचने मैत्रसाहचर्य्यात् स्नानपदं प्रातःस्नानपरम् एवमेव कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

p. 530 = VIII. 230 ——दिवा पशूनां...पाल एव गर्हणीयतां प्राप्नोति इति कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

„ = VIII. 293 ——यत्र सारथेरकौशलात्....स्यादिति कुल्लूकभट्टव्याख्यानदर्शनात्...(प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तम्)।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. K.B.

p. 748 = II. 38 ——आङ् अभिविध्यर्थः ।....एवमेव...कुल्लूकभट्ट.... प्रभृतयः ।

„ = II. 38 ——'पतिता...वदतां वरः' । कुल्लूकभट्ट...धृतमप्येतत् ।

p. 793 = X. 127 ——ये पुनः शूद्राः....ख्यातिभाजश्च भवन्ति एवमेव कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

p. 800 = III. 273 ——यत्किञ्चिदिति अप्रतिषिद्धमिति कुल्लूकभट्टः । (K.B. reads अप्रसिद्धम् for अप्रतिषिद्धम् ।)

5. Saṁskāratattva

Su.T. K.B.

p. 893 = III. 31 ——कन्याप्रदानं कन्यायाः स्वीकरणमिति कुल्लूकभट्टः । स्वाच्छन्द्यात् स्वेच्छया ।
(K.B. reads कन्याया आप्रदानमादानं स्वीकारः for the former portion.)

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Sm.T. K.B.

p. 894 = IV. 235 —योऽर्चापूर्वकमेव . . . स्वर्गं गच्छतः अनर्चितदानप्रतिग्रहणे तु नरकमिति कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

p. 903 = II. 122 —ततश्च कुल्लूकभट्ट . . . . प्रभृतिभिः स्वनामादावभिवादय इति लिखितं युक्तम् ।

,, = II. 125 —तेनायुष्मान् भव सौम्यामुकदेवशर्मन् एवमेव कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

6. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. K.B.

p. 7 = II. 3 —अनेन कर्मणा . . . . सङ्कल्पादेव जायन्त इति कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

p. 13 = VIII. 112 —इन्धने . . . . पापं नास्तीति कुल्लूकभट्टः

7. Udvāhatattva

U.T. K.B.

p. 129 = IX. 70 —आगर्भग्रहणात् . . . . भवतीति कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

p. 144 = II. 32 —'शर्मा देवश्च . . . . शूद्रस्य कारयेत्' इति यमवचनेऽपि समुच्चयलब्धः . . . . एवमेव कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

8. Dāyatattva

D.T. K.B.

p. 178 = VIII. 167 —तद्देशस्थे . . . . . तत्स्वाम्यनुमन्येतेति कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

p. 193 = IX. 157 —समांशाः समभागा . . . कस्यचिद्देय इति कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

p. 195 = IX. 187 —तस्य मृतस्य . . . . धनं हरेत् एवमेव कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

9. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. K.B.

p. 213 = VIII. 77 —एकोऽलुब्धस्तु साक्षी स्यादिति कुल्लूकभट्टधृतपाठः ।

pp. 222-3 = VIII. 147-8 —यत्किञ्चित् . . . पौगण्डश्चापि शब्द्यते'। अत्र पौगण्डः प्रकीर्तित इति कुल्लूकभट्टेन लिखितम् ।
(K.B. reads पोगण्डश्चापि शब्दितः ।)

p. 223 = VIII. 147-8 —एवमेव . . . . . कुल्लूकभट्ट . . . . प्रभृतयः ।

10. Śuddhitattva

S.T. K.B.

p. 296 = V. 127 —वाचेति उपघातशङ्कायां . . . शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्याय-कुल्लूकभट्टौ ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 454 of A.T.)

p. 316 = II. 32 —'शर्मा देवश्च . . . . शूद्रस्य कारयेत्' इति . . . . कुल्लूकभट्ट-धृतृयमवचनात् अत्रापि चकारात् समुच्चयः ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 144 of U.T.)

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S.T. K.B.
p. 361 = IV. 247 —'अयाचिताहृतं . . . . द्विषः'। एतद्वचनं याज्ञवल्क्यस्येति (I. 215) . . . . कुल्लूकभट्टमाधवाचार्य्याः।

p. 362 = X. 103 —ज्वलनाम्बुसमा अग्निजलसमा इति कुल्लूकभट्टः। (K.B. reads अग्न्युदकतुल्याः and the same as the quot. on p. 353 of A.T.)

p. 381 = X. 127 —ये पुनः शूद्राः. . .ख्यातिञ्च लोके प्राप्नुवन्ति इति कुल्लूकभट्टः। (K.B. reads लभन्ते for प्राप्नुवन्ति and the same as the quot. on p. 793 of M.T.)

11. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. K.B.
p. 494 = III. 258 —आकाङ्क्षन् पश्यन्निति तट्टीकाकृतः। (K.B. reads वीक्षमाणः for पश्यन् and the same as the quot. on p. 244 of Sr.T.)

VII. Śūlapāṇi

(a) *Dīpakalikā*

A Com. on the Yāj. Smṛti

1. Tithitattva

T.T. D.K.
p. 84 = p. 15 (I. 109) —याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिकायां ब्रह्मपुराणम्। 'नराश्वमेधौ मद्यञ्च कलौ वर्ज्या द्विजातिभिः'। (D.K. reads पल्यं च for मद्यञ्च।)

2 Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. D.K.
p. 201 } = p. 27 (I. 229) —प्रक्षाल्यते . . . आसनार्थमिति दीपकलिका।
p. 208 }

pp. 224-5 = p. 29 (I. 258-9) —हविष्यान्नेन . . . क्षत्रियव्रतोपयुक्तमृगचर्म इति दीपकलिका। (D.K. omits the word क्षत्रिय . . . चर्म।)

p. 247 = p. 28 (I. 246-7) —वेदश्चाध्ययनाध्यापन . . . . वृद्धिमेतु इति याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिकायां व्याख्यानाद्वेद इत्येव पाठो न तु वेदा इति।

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. D.K.
p. 454 = p. 24 (I. 191) —वाचेति उपसंघातशङ्कायां . . . दीपकलिका . . .।

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. D.K.
p. 478 = p. 2 (I. 7) —तथा 'धर्माय पुनरारम्भः सङ्कल्पोऽपि न निष्फलः' इति तट्टीकायां।

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P.T. D.K.

p. 520 = p. 15 (I. 109) —'दीर्घकालं . . . . मद्यञ्च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः' इति हलायुधशूलपाणि . . . धृतब्रह्मपुराणवचनात् ।
(D.K. reads °पल्यं च कलौ वर्ज्या° and partly the same as the quot. on p. 84 of T.T.)

p. 546 = p. 105 (III. 299)—याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिकायां कृतघ्नमाह स्कन्दपुराणम् । 'ब्रह्मघ्ने . . . . . भर्तृपिण्डापहर्ता च पितृपिण्डापहारकः । . . . . कृतघ्नानब्रवीन्मनुः' ।
(D.K. reads भर्तृपिण्डोपकर्ता च पितृपिण्डोपहारकः ।)

5. Malamāsatattva

M.T. D.K.

p. 748 = p. 6 (I. 37) —आङ् अभिविध्यर्थः । . . . शूलपाणिरपि याज्ञवल्क्यटीकायामेवं।

p. 792 = p. 3 (I. 10) —मात्रशब्दोऽत्र . . . . . गर्भाधानादिसंस्कारप्रतिपादनादिति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायाः ।

pp. 854-5 = p. 81 (III. 56-7) —'ब्राह्मणः . . . गृहात्' इति विश्वरूपलिखितस्य . . . शूलपाणेर्याज्ञवल्क्यटीकायां शेषवचनानाकराभिधानं हेयम् ।
(D.K. reads यत्तु 'ब्राह्मणः . . . . गृहात्' इति विश्वरूपेण लिखितं तदृषिनामशून्यमनाकरम् ।)

6. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. D.K.

p. 903 = p. 5 (I. 26-7) —ततश्च . . . शूलपाण्युपाध्यायप्रभृतिभिः स्वनामादावभिवादय इति लिखितं युक्तम् । . . . ततश्चाभिवादये . . . भो इत्यादिकं प्रयोज्यम् ।

7. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. D.K.

p. 22 = p. 11 (I. 79) —शूलपाणिस्तु 'ब्रह्मचार्य्येव . . . . पुत्रोत्पत्तिपर्य्यन्तम्' ।

8. Udvāhatattva

U.T. D.K.

p. 108 = p. 7 (I. 52) —असपिण्डा च या मातुरित्यत्र मातुरुपादानं व्यर्थं स्यात् । एवमेव विवेककृतः ।

pp. 108-9 = pp. 7-8 (I. 53) —पूर्वोक्तविष्णुपुराण-विष्णुसूत्राभ्याम् 'असमानार्षेयीं . . . . पञ्च पितृतो वा' इति पैठीनसिवचनैकवाक्यत्वात् . . . . क्षत्रियादिविवाहविषयं वा इति विवेककृतः ।

p. 110 = pp. 7-8 (I. 52-4) —अतएव याज्ञवल्क्यटीकायां शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायैर्मातामहस्य . . . पञ्चमी परिहरणीयेत्युक्तम् ।
(Cf. D.K. (I. 52) मातृपदेन मातामहो लक्षणीयः ।)

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U.T. D.K.

p. 113 = p. 10 (I. 69) ——याज्ञवल्क्यटीकायां बृहस्पतिः कलावित्यधिकृत्य 'अनेकधा. . . . . शक्तिहीनेरिदन्तनैः'।

p. 115 = ——एष एवार्थो याज्ञवल्क्यटीकायां शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायैः एतेन. . . . . न विवाह इत्यनेन निदिष्टः इति।

p. 138 = p. 9 (I. 58) ——ब्रह्मचारिणे अजातस्त्रीसम्पर्कायेति कल्पतरु-याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिके।

9. Dāyatattva

D.T. D.K.

p. 175 = p. 55 (II. 123) ——पुत्रदुहित्रोर्यदलङ्कारादि दत्तं तत्तस्यैवेति शूलपाण्युपाध्यायाः। (D.K. reads पुत्रदुहितृभार्यादेः°।)

pp. 194-5 = p. 58 (II. 139) ——याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिकायां शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायास्तु. . . . . न पुनरुक्तिरित्याहुः।

10. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. D.K.

p. 197 = p. 36 (II. 5) ——आवेदयति चेदित्यनेन. . . न कर्तव्यमिति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायाः।

pp. 202-3 = p. 38 (II. 12)——साहसं. . . . उत्तरं दापयेदिति शूलपाणिः।

p. 224 = p. 41 (II. 27) ——तथा च नारदः। 'विद्यमानेऽपि. . . न तत् स्थिरम्' इति दीपकलिका।

p. 225 = p. 41 (II. 28) ——आगमः साक्षिपत्रादिकमिति दीपकलिका।

p. 226 = p. 39 (II. 21) ——अन्यायेनेत्यत्र अनागममिति शूलपाणिधृतपाठः।

" = p. 39 (II. 21) ——'यत्र. . . . . धर्मशास्त्रार्थमाचरेत्'। एवमेव शूलपाण्युपाध्यायाः।

11. Śuddhitattva

S.T. D.K.

p. 292 = p. 78 (III. 29) ——. . . शूलपाणिप्रभृतिभिः. . . . मरकपीड़ायां. . . . विधीयते इत्युक्तम्। (D.K. reads नरक or मरण (footnote) for मरक।)

p. 296 = p. 24 (I. 191) ——वाचेति उपघातशङ्कायां. . . शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायः. . . । (The same as the quot. on p. 454 of A.T.)

p. 298 = p. 77 (III. 18) ——एवमेव. . . . . दीपकलिके।

p. 312 = p. 75 (III. 3) ——ॐ अपनः. . . . अप आलोड्य स्नातव्यमिति. . . याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिका. . . प्रभृतयः। (D K. reads °जलमालोड्य निमज्जेयुः।)

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S.T. D.K.

pp. 318-9 = pp. 75-6 (III. 7–14) —स्नातानिति.....प्राणायामादिति दीपकलिका ।

p. 361 = p. 25 (I. 214) —एतद्वचनं...मनोरिति शूलपाणिः ।

12. Divyatattva

Div.T. D.K.

p. 577 = p. 50 (II. 98) —स्त्र्यादीनां.....तण्डुलेतरविषयमिति शूलपाणिः । (D.K. reads °तत्तु नेतरद्विषयम्)

pp. 588-9 = p. 51 (II. 103) —क्षतिनं प्रति याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिकायां नारदः । 'हस्तक्षतेषु ...विचित्रितौ' ।...ज्ञातव्यमिति ।

pp. 601-2 = p. 52 (II. 109) —अत्र...गमनं शूलपाण्युक्तमयुक्तम्...प्रमाणशून्यम् ।

(b) *Prāyaścittaviveka*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. P.V.

p. 10 = p. 300 —एतेन द्वितीयाब्दीय.....शूलपाण्युक्तप्रायश्चित्तं हेयमिति ।

p. 28 = p. 295 —व्याधित...सुमन्तुः । 'लशुन.....शिरसि पातयेदिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

pp. 90-91 = p. 283 —प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृतां मते तु.....रविवारादौ मांसनिषेधः ।

p. 91 = p. 279 —एवं मांसाशन...वर्जनीयमाह प्रायश्चित्तविवेके यमः । 'भक्षयेत्...विवर्जयेत्' ।

p. 182 = p. 290 —घृतपक्वापक्वतया.....अम्लतां गतमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. P.V.

p. 341 = p. 508 —उपवासेन हेतुनेति दानसागरप्रायश्चित्तविवेकौ ।

pp. 349-50 = p. 420 —अशीतिभागं.....आपदि तु स्वयं करणे नियमातिक्रमे च न दोष इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 431 = p. 301 —सान्तपनं.....एतज्ज्ञानकृतः सकृदिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 450 = p. 279 —अत्तएव नियुक्तस्त्विति मनुवचनं (V. 35*a*) तत्कालीनानिषिद्धमांसाभ्युग्विषयमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. P.V.

p. 470 = p. 389 —यथा वा दण्डनिपात.....सम्पद्यत इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोक्तम् ।

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P.T.	P.V.	
p. 477 = p. 24		——प्रायश्चित्तविवेकेऽपि पापवत् पुण्येऽपि अज्ञानात् ज्ञाने द्वैगुण्य माहापस्तम्बः। 'यः प्रमत्तो . . . पुण्यक्रियासु च'।
pp. 478-9 = p. 389		——तथा च प्रायश्चित्तविवेके दण्डनिपात . . . . . सम्पद्यते इत्युक्तम्। (The same as the quot. on p. 470 of P.T.)
p. 481 = p. 389		——किन्तु प्रचारिणो गुरुदारगमनप्रायश्चित्तेनैव . . . . कृतं भवेदिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृदुक्तं कथं सङ्गच्छते।
p. 485 = p. 170		——व्रतन्तु द्वादशवार्षिकाद् . . . . प्रायश्चित्तकल्पनानध्यवसाया-पत्तेरेवमेव प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
p. 486 = p. 242		——तथा प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृद्भिरप्यन्नादिजातप्राणिवधे . . . इति वदद्भिः . . . परिसंख्या (परिसंख्योक्ता ?)।
p. 488 = pp. 85-6		——अतएव अविज्ञाते गर्भवधे . . . यथा वशिष्ठः 'ब्राह्मणं . . . . जुह्वती'ति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
pp. 510-11 = p. 28		——यथा हारीतः . . . . अतएव 'पादं . . . . कल्पयेत्' इति प्राय-श्चित्तविवेकः।
p. 513 = p. 407		——प्रतिग्रहस्त्वदृष्टार्थत्यक्तद्रव्यस्वीकार इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
p. 517 = p. 530		——अत्र पुराणत्रयलभ्यं . . . . . स्यात् इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः तच्चिन्त्यम्।
p. 521 = p. 215		——एवञ्च यत् प्रायश्चित्तविवेके मासयावकपानं . . . . . इत्य-विरोधः।
"	= p. 198	——मासद्वयचतुर्थकालभोजने . . . . . शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायैः . . . . . मासोपवासधेनुसङ्कलने उक्ताः।
p. 523 = p. 202		——शूद्रसम्बन्धिन्या गोर्वधे तु विश्वामित्रः। . . . . स्वामिकृत-विशेषस्तु प्रायश्चित्तविवेकानुसारादुक्तः।
p. 526 =		——अतएव प्रायश्चित्तविवेके एकं घ्नतां बहूनामिति मनुष्यवधे उक्तं वहुभिरित्युपादानात् द्वाभ्यां हनने तु प्रत्येकं सम्पूर्ण-प्रायश्चित्तम्।
"	= p. 206	——इदमपि प्रायश्चित्तलाघवेन अबुद्धि . . . विषयमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः तेन . . . द्विगुणमित्यर्थः।
p. 528 =		——यथा हारीतः। 'नासा . . . . . चरेत्'। हत्वेति . . . व्रत-मित्यर्थः। इति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायाः।
"	= p. 200	——'शस्त्रादिना . . . चे'ति बृहस्पत्युक्तस्य प्रथमादि-पदान्मुष्टि . . . बन्धादेरिति शूलपाणिव्याख्यान्तराच्च।
p. 531 = p. 210		——शूलपाणिप्रभृतिभिस्तु इतिकर्तव्यतायां विशेषो नादृतः।

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P.T. P.V.	
p. 538 = pp. 427-8	—तथा च गोतमः। 'पशवश्च हिंसासंयोग' इति। अस्यार्थः यत्र विक्रीताः सन्तः पशवो हिंस्यन्ते तत्र तेषामपण्यत्वमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
,, = p. 540	—तत्पादोनधेनुचतुष्टयेन सङ्कलितं प्रायश्चित्तविवेकेन।
p. 540 = pp. 48 and 73	—विवेककृतापि प्रागुक्तं चरेद्व्रतमहत्वापीत्यत्र तथा व्यवस्थापितम्।
p. 541 = p. 258	—अतएव प्रमादतः सकृदित्यर्थः इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
,, = p. 255	—अस्य प्रायश्चित्तविवेके कैवर्तादितुल्यत्वाभिधानात्।
p. 544 =	—'गोघ्न.....अवाप्नुयात्'। इति यमवचनात्..... पातित्यमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
,, = p. 65	—ततश्चावभृथस्नानं क्षत्रियविषयमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोक्तं हेयम्।
pp. 545-6 = p. 153	—अज्ञानतस्तु.....प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृद्भिरुक्तं तदत्याज्यापरम्। अतएव तैरेव.....उक्तम्....वत्सरार्धेनेति।
p. 546 = p. 258	—यत्तु विष्णुवचनम् 'चाण्डालान्नं.....पराकः' इति तद्बलाद्भोजनविषयमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
p. 547 = p. 169	—अत्र तृतीयसंसर्गिण एव प्रायश्चित्तदर्शनात् तुर्य्यसंसर्गजदोषो नास्ति। प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोऽप्येवम्।
,, = p. 253	—व्रती यावकेनेति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
p. 548 = p. 265	—त्रिरात्रोपवासविधायकं.....वृत्तिहीनद्विजपरमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः।
,, = p. 162	—सर्वत्रानुच्छिष्टादुच्छिष्टे द्वैगुण्यं बोध्यम् प्रायश्चित्तविवेके संसर्गप्रकरणेऽप्येवम्।
p. 549 = p. 163	—अतएव ब्रह्महत्यादि....प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृद्भिः संसर्गिप्रकरणे उक्तम्।
p. 550 =	—तदूर्द्धं....मरणमिति यत् प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोक्तं तत्...बालविषयम्।
pp. 550-1 = pp. 104-5	—यत्तु कुमारवचनम्....प्रायश्चित्तविवेकेऽपि। 'सुरापान ...चापरम्' इति...मद्येतरपरम् इत्युक्तम्।
p. 551 = p. 271	—अतएव सप्ताहोदकवासोऽपि धेनुद्वयेन सङ्कलितः प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृतेति।
,, = p. 72	—यत्तु प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृताप्यत्र 'ब्रह्महा....दद्यात्' इति सुमन्तूक्तप्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं...संसर्गेऽप्येवम्।

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P.V.

P.T.
pp. 551-2 = p. 375 —'वृत्त्यन्वेषी . . . स्मृतः' इति ब्रह्मपुराणोक्तम् इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 553 = p. 258 —चाण्डालान्नभक्षणप्रकरणे उपनयनं चान्द्रायणसममिति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायसङ्कलनात् . . . . वा देयाः ।

p. 555 = pp. 541-2 —सप्ताहसाध्यमहासान्तपनो धेनुद्वयसमान इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 556 = p. 304 and p. 258 —चान्द्रायणतप्तकृच्छ्र . . . चान्द्रायणे धेन्वष्टकं . . . प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृतापि . . . तथा सङ्कलनात् ।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 553 of P.T.)

" = p. 304 —संवर्तः । 'विण्मूत्रभक्षणे . . . . समाचरेत्' । एतद्बलात्कारविषय इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 557 = pp. 477-8 —अनुच्छिष्टब्राह्मणस्य नक्तमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. P.V.

p. 748 = p. 385 —शूलपाणिरपि . . . किन्तु प्रायश्चित्तविवेके मर्य्यादार्थकतामाह यमवचनात् । यथा 'पतिता . . . . वदतां वरः' ।

p. 813 = p. 89 —अभिलापवाक्ये नवान्नागमननिमित्तमिति . . . विकारविशेष इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 814 = p. 233 —पशूनाह प्रायश्चित्तविवेके पैठीनसिः । 'ग्राम्यारण्याश्चतुर्दश . . . . . सप्तारण्याः पशवः' । इति ।

p. 855 = p. 445 —तत्कृतप्रायश्चित्तविवेकधृतपूर्वोक्तकात्यायनवचनविरोधः स्यात् ।

5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. P.V.

p. 8 = p. 462 —पद्मपुराणम् । 'लोभान्मोहात् . . . कुर्य्याद्वा केशमुण्डनम् । . . . व्रती भवेत्' । वा शब्दः समुच्चये तेन मुण्डनञ्च कर्तव्यमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 11 = p. 86 —अङ्गिराः । 'यो यदर्थं . . . . . प्रेत्य प्राप्नुयान्मनुरब्रवीत्' । प्रेत्य परलोके । प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोऽप्येवम् ।

p. 15 = —यत्तु व्रतपदं नियतसङ्कल्पविशेषवाचकमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृद्भिरुक्तं तदपि . . . . . वाचकमित्येतत्परम् ।

p. 21 = p. 508 —अतएव प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृद्भिः सुष्ठूक्तमुपवासेन हेतुनेति ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 341 of A.T.)

" = p. 508 —संप्रेक्षणात् . . . सरागत्वं संशब्दस्यार्थः (साहचर्य्यात् स्पर्शोऽपि तथे)-ति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

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6. Udvāhatattva

U.T. P.V.

p. 112 = p. 390 —अतो गोत्रप्रवरयोः पृथङ्निषेध इति सगोत्रा . . . लक्षणमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 122 = pp. 379-80 —गोतमश्च । 'द्वादशवर्षाणि . . . . क्षपणमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

pp. 122-3 = p. 383 —वशिष्ठः । 'अग्रजोऽस्य . . . . . यथाविधि' । एतेन विवाहस्त्वनुमत्यापि दोषायेति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

7. Vratatattva

Vr.T. P.V.

pp. 152-3 = p. 86 and p. 462 —अङ्गिराः । 'यो यदर्थं . . . . . प्रेत्य प्राप्नुयान्मनुरब्रवीत्' । प्रेत्य परलोके । पद्मपुराणम् । 'लोभान्मोहात् . . . . . मुण्डमण्डनमादिशेत्' । (इति गोवधप्रकरणे विवेचितम् ।) 'प्रायश्चित्त . . . . . व्रती भवेत्' । 'पूर्वं गृहीत्वा . . . . . चाभिजायते' । इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकधृतवचनम् ।
(Partly the same as the quotations on pp. 8 and 11 of E.T. Cf. p. 516 of P.T. for a part of the above quotation from Padmapurāṇa as from Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, i.e. Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa.)

8. Dāyatattva

D.T. P.V.

p. 178 = p. 49 —अनुमतिस्त्वप्रतिषेधादपि भवति । 'स्वं द्रव्यं . . . तद्भृगुः' इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकधृतकात्यायनवचनात् । अतएव परमत . . . . न्यायविदः ।
(Diff. reading in P.V.)

pp. 182-3 = pp. 114-5 —अतएव परकीयत्वेन विशेषतो जानतस्तदपहारे स्तैन्यं न तु . . परद्रव्यव्यवहर्तुरपीति . . . प्रायश्चित्तविवेककृन्मतम् . . . यत्तु अनेकेषाम् . . . न स्तेयत्वम् . . . तेन परमात्मस्वत्वावच्छिन्नद्रव्ये परानुमतिमन्तरेण ममेदं यथेष्टविनियोज्यमिति कृत्वा व्यवहारः स्तेयम् । . . . विशेषानिश्चयात् ।

9. Śuddhitattva

S.T. P.V.

p. 283 = p. 314 —अतएव अशुचिः सूतकादिनेत्यर्थः इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 286 = p. 453 —ये च वै ब्राह्मणैर्हताः . . . . शस्त्रादिना वा इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोक्तम् ।
(P.V. reads ब्राह्मणेन च घातितमिति for ये . . . हताः ।)

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S.T. P.V.

p. 293 = p. 485 —ज्ञानतोऽत्यन्ताभ्यासे तु वशिष्ठः 'मानुषास्थि. . .त्वहोरात्रम्' इति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।
(P.V. reads कामतो for ज्ञानतो ।)

pp. 294-5 = p. 488 —अत्रैव वृद्धशातातपः । 'उदक्या. . . .शातातपोऽब्रवीत्' । . . . . .कर्तव्यमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 351 = p. 114 —पार्श्विकः पात्रतया योऽर्जयतीति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

p. 385 = p. 469 —तथा च वृद्धशातातपः । 'चाण्डालं. . .व्यङ्गमुन्मत्तं. . । . . .सूयिकां. . .शुध्यति' । व्यङ्गः पाण्यादिविकलः । व्यङ्गोन्मत्तयोः सदाचारहीनत्वात् अस्पृश्यतेति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः । . . .सूयिकां प्रसवकारयित्रीम् ।

(c) *Śrāddhaviveka*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. S.V.

p. 12 = pp. 366-7 —एकं प्रेतपात्रं वामेन. . . .मिश्रीभाव इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

p. 18 = pp. 358-9 —न दद्यात्. . . . .स चाप्राप्तप्रेतभावविषय इति श्राद्धविवेकोक्तवत् ।

„ = pp. 194-5 —अतएव श्राद्धविवेके अपाटवाद्यशौचाभ्यामपि. . . . .मलमासाव्याप्तकृष्णैकादश्यामेवेत्युक्तम् ।

p. 19 = p. 389 —अविज्ञाते मृते. . . . .और्द्धदेहिकाभावादिति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

p. 154 = p. 190 —ग्रहणनिमित्तश्राद्धादि मलमासेऽपि कार्य्यं 'नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्य्यात्. . . .तथैव च' । इति बृहस्पतिवचनात् । श्राद्धविवेकेऽप्येवम् ।

p. 167 = pp. 195-6 —यत्तु 'पितृयज्ञन्तु. . .मासानुमासिकम् ॥' इति मनुवचनम् (III. 112). . . .चन्द्रक्षयेऽमावास्यायां. . . . . एवमेव श्राद्धविवेकः ।

p. 168 = p. 146 —सर्वकर्मसु. . . . .अनापदीत्यर्थ इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

p. 170 = pp. 202-3 —दृश्यमानेऽप्येकदेति. . . .चतुर्दशीविषयमिति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

„ = p. 205 —ततश्चान्त्यकलावयव. . . . .विनाशेऽप्यस्तीति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

p. 172 = p. 206 —अत्र त्रिमुहूर्तेत्युपादानात्. . . .उभयत्रापराह्लालाभेऽपीयं व्यवस्थेति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

p. 173 = p. 90 —अतएव शक्तेस्तारतम्येन. . .गोतमः । 'अथ. . .शक्तितः' इति । योऽयममावास्यादिकालनियमः. . . .बोद्धव्य इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

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T.T.	S.V.	
p. 174 =	p. 61	—अत्र च . . . . . ध्यातव्यत्वं श्राद्धविवेकोक्तम् ।
p. 177 =	p. 263	—यथा वनिक्तं पिण्डं . . . . इति श्राद्धविवेकधृतपिण्डपितृयज्ञीय-कात्यायनवचने ।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T.	S.V.	
p. 190 =	p. 61	—न तु . . . . . भावनापरमिति श्राद्धविवेकप्रभृतयः । (The same as the quot. on p. 174 of T.T.)
p. 191 =	p. 90	—अन्यतिथावपि श्राद्धमाह गोतमः । 'तथा . . . शक्तितः' इति । योऽयमावास्यादिकालनियमः . . . . . बोद्धव्य इति श्राद्धविवेकः । (The same as the quot. on p. 173 of T.T.)
p. 194 =	pp. 227-8	—ब्राह्मणासम्पत्तौ कुशमयब्राह्मणे श्राद्धमुक्तं श्राद्धविवेके 'निधायाथ . . . . प्रतिपादयेत्' । इति तद्धृतवचनात् ।
p. 204 =	p. 268	—न तु . . . . . श्राद्धविवेकोक्तं गोत्रपर्य्यायकमपि सगोत्रपदम् ।
,, =	p. 58	—अतएव श्राद्धविवेके नामाज्ञाने . . . इति कृत्वा दद्यादित्युक्तम् ।
p. 206 =	p. 57	—अतएव तुभ्यमिति पदेन . . . स्वधापदसम्बन्ध इति श्राद्ध-विवेकः ।
p. 214 =		—एवं कर्तुर्दक्षिणामुखस्य वामपार्श्वमुत्तरा दिग्भवति ततश्च . . . श्राद्धविवेकाभ्याम् एकस्थानं भङ्ग्या द्वितयेनाभिहितम् ।
pp. 219-220 =	p. 262	—तथा च छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम् । 'पित्र्ये यः . . . . . मन्त्र-वदन्येषां तूष्णीं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत्' । अन्येषामिति ग्रहणात् तत्पात्रे हुतशेषं न देयमति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
pp. 222-3 =	p. 436	—मधु मध्विति यस्तत्र . . . . मन्त्रवर्जित इति श्राद्धविवेक-व्याख्यानात् ।
p. 224 =		—कोविदारः श्वेतकाञ्चनसदृश इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
p. 244 =	p. 315	—ततश्च . . शूलपाणिप्रभृतिभिर्यदर्घ्यसम्बन्धिपवित्रमात्रास्तरण-मुक्तं तत्प्रमाणशून्यम् ।
p. 246 =	p. 225	—श्राद्धकर्मणोऽप्यन्तकर्मत्वेन प्राप्तस्य दक्षिणादानस्य दैवान्तता-नुरोधेन पित्रादित्वमुक्तं श्राद्धविवेकोऽप्येवम् ।
p. 252 =	p. 90	—योऽयममावास्यादिकालनियमः . . . . बोद्धव्य इति श्राद्ध-विवेकः । (The same as the quotations on p. 173 of T.T. and p. 191 of Sr.T.)
,, =	p. 188	—श्राद्धमेव श्राद्धिकं स्वार्थे ठक् इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

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Sr.T.	S.V.	
p. 270 =	pp. 202-3	—दृश्यमानेऽप्येकदेति . . . . चतुर्दशीविषयमिति श्राद्धविवेकः । (The same as the first quotation on p. 170 of T.T.)
p. 271 =	p. 205	—ततश्चान्त्यकलावयव . . . . विनाशेऽप्यस्तीति श्राद्धविवेकः । (The same as the second quotation on p. 170 of T.T.)
p. 271 =	pp. 199 and 205	—अत्र विशेषमाह स एव आग्रहायण्यमावास्या . . . ज्योतिर्विदः ।
pp. 271-2 =	p. 199	—. . . इत्यत्राह स एव . . . विशेषान्तरमाह स एव . . . उपसंहरति स एव . . . . . स्तम्भितायां विशेषमाह स एव . . . चापरे ।
p. 273 =	p. 206	—अत्र त्रिमुहूर्तेत्युपादानात् . . . . . उभयत्रापराह्णलाभेऽपीयं व्यवस्थेति श्राद्धविवेकः । (The same as the quot. on p. 172 of T.T.)
p. 282 =	p. 182	—अतएव श्राद्धविवेके मीनादिस्थ . . . . चैत्रादिरिति ।
p. 285 =	pp. 194-5	—अतएव श्राद्धविवेके अपाटवाद्यशौचाभ्यामपि . . . मलमासाव्याप्तकृष्णैकादश्यामेवेत्युक्तम् । (The same as the second quot. on p. 18 of T.T.)
p. 286 =	p. 389	—अविज्ञातमृते . . . . . और्द्ध्वदेहिकाभावादिति श्राद्धविवेकः । (The same as the quot. on p. 19 of T.T.)
p. 290 =	pp. 355-6	—कुलधर्माणामिति . . . . षोडशश्राद्धापकर्षकाल इति शूलपाण्युपाध्यायव्याख्यानात् ।
" =	pp. 346-7	—अतएव एकाहापेक्षया . . . . सपिण्डीकरणकाल इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
p. 293 =	pp. 366-7	—एकं प्रेतपात्रं वामेन . . . मिश्रीभाव इति श्राद्धविवेकः । (The same as the quot. on p. 12 of T.T.)
p. 297 =	pp. 408 and 410	—मार्कण्डेयपुराणम् । 'सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः . . . यद्वदिहोदितम्' । स्त्रियोऽत्र असवर्णोढा अपरिणीता वेति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
" =	p. 410	—एवमेवामन्त्रकमित्यर्थ इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
p. 299 =	p. 360	—'महागुरौ . . . न युज्यते' इति शूलपाणिलिखितवचनेन ।
p. 301 =	pp. 396–8	—अत्र विशेषयति मरीचिः । 'मृते पितरि . . . . . कृतं भवेत्' । . . . . . न तु तेन श्राद्धान्तरं कर्तव्यमिति श्राद्धविवेकोक्तं युक्तम् ।
p. 302 =	pp. 356-7	—अतएव लघुहारीतेन 'तथैव काम्यं . . . प्रथमादृते' . . . . . कर्तव्यमिति । श्राद्धविवेकोऽप्येवम् ।

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Sr.T. S.V.

pp. 305-6 = pp. 285-6 —एकोद्दिष्टं नान्यद्वारा.....तथेति श्राद्धविवेकः।

p. 307 = p. 62 —एवञ्च श्राद्धविवेकादौ श्राद्धभेदगणने....यदुभयत्वमुक्तम्।

p. 317 = pp. 436-7 —पधु मध्विति.....न स्यादिति श्राद्धविवेकः। पितृसंहितामिति.....मात्रोपलक्षणार्थम्।
(Partly the same as the quot. on pp. 222-3 of Sr.T.)

p. 321 = pp. 151-2 —न चास्य.....भविष्यतीति श्राद्धविवेकः।

,, = p. 446 —एषु विवाहादि-गर्भाधानान्त-कर्मस्वेकमेव श्राद्धं कर्तव्यम्।

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. S.V.

p. 427 = p. 451 —अर्घ्यादि.....दर्शपौर्णमासातिदेशवत् इति श्राद्धविवेकः।

,, = p. 451 —लिखितजातूकर्णौ। 'नित्यश्राद्धं....पात्रालम्भनवाध इति श्राद्धविवेकादयः।

4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. S.V.

pp. 471-2 = p. 67 —श्राद्धविवेककारास्तु आरम्भ इत्यर्द्धानन्तरम् 'आज्येनैव...पृथक्' इत्यर्द्धमधिकं लिखितवन्तः...व्याख्यातवन्तश्चेति।

5. Malamāsatattva

M.T. S.V.

p. 761 = pp. 185-6 —यतस्तत्र विधानेन....इत्याद्युक्तमेवेति श्राद्धविवेककृत् तन्न मनोरमम्।

p. 769 = pp. 169-70 —श्राद्धविवेकेऽपि 'अमावास्याद्वयं...वर्जितम्'...सम्भवतीत्युक्तम्।

p. 781 = —अतएवात्र....श्राद्धविवेक....न किञ्चिदभिहितम्।

p. 801 = p. 263 —श्राद्धविवेककृता.....वाक्यं लिखितम्।

p. 816 = —अतएव श्राद्धविवेककृता.....ऐन्द्रं ज्येष्ठेति लिखितम्।

,, = p. 148 —प्रौष्ठपदा.....इति श्राद्धविवेककृत्।

p. 834 = p. 175 —प्रागुक्तज्योतिःपराशरवचने...दानपदं महादानपरमिति शूलपाणिः।

p. 845 = pp. 126-7 —श्राद्धविवेकेऽपि ब्रह्मपुराणे प्रायोऽनशनेत्यादिना.....तच्छस्त्रहतभ्रात्रादिविषयमित्यन्तेनोक्तम्।

p. 850 = pp. 163, 168, 172, 175, 178, 194. —श्राद्धविवेककृद्भिरपि मलमासे पार्वणाभावो बहुप्रबन्धैरुक्तः।

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6. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. S.V.
p. 921 = pp. 443-4 —श्राद्धविवेकोऽप्येवम् ।

7. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. S.V.
p. 33 = p. 417 —अतएव मुखदर्शनावृत्तौ . . . . विवाहवदिति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
p. 85 = p. 24 —तथा च श्राद्धविवेकः 'देवतोद्देश्यकद्रव्यत्यागो . . . आरोप-विषयत्वमि 'ति ।

8. Udvāhatattva

U.T. S.V.
p. 130 = p. 372 —पाणिग्रहणादपि पितृगोत्रापहारमाह श्राद्धविवेके बृहस्पतिः । 'पाणिग्रहणिका . . . ततः' ।
p. 131 = p. 446 —एषु . . . . . कार्य्यमिति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 321 of Sr.T.)

9. Dāyatattva

D.T. S.V.
p. 179 = p. 49 —दम्पत्योर्मध्यगं धनमित्युक्तम् इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।

10. Śuddhitattva

S.T. S.V.
p. 253 = pp. 309-10 —अशुद्धौ चतुर्थाहादौ . . . . स पुनरशुद्ध एव कर्मान्तर इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
pp. 281-2 = p. 300 —अरिक्थभाजः . . . . . पिण्डदा इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
p. 292 = p. 124 —'विषशस्त्र . . . . यच्चात्र ये च वै ब्राह्मणैर्हता' इति . . . . श्राद्धविवेके तच्चिन्त्यम् ।
p. 313 = —अतएव प्रेतपिण्डोऽप्यस्य विषय इति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
p. 316 = p. 268 —न तु . . . . श्राद्धविवेकोक्तं गोत्रपर्य्यायकमपि सगोत्रपदम् ।
(The same as the 1st quot. on p. 204 of Sr.T.)
p. 318 = p. 379 —'पितृयज्ञन्तु . . . . अहरहः म्रियमाणेऽम्बुघटश्राद्ध इति श्राद्ध-विवेककृतादिभिर्व्याख्यातत्वाच्च ।
p. 322 = p. 149 —'राहुदर्शन . . . व्रतेषु च' इति देवलवचने अत्यये . . . विधानात् एवमेव श्राद्धविवेकः ।
p. 326 = pp. 327-8 —दशाहपदम् . . . . . चतुर्दशाहविधेयमित्यर्थः इति श्राद्ध-विवेकः ।
" = p. 398 —न च यत्र . . . . . न स्यादिति श्राद्धविवेकोक्तं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ।
(Part of the quot. on p. 301 of Sr.T.)

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S.T. S.V.

p. 377 = p. 324 —श्राद्धविवेकोऽप्येवम् ।

pp. 383-4 = p. 404 —'अपुत्रा स्त्री. . . पुत्रिणी' इति निर्मूलं समूलत्वेऽपि. . . . सद्भावविषयमिति श्राद्धविवेकप्रभृतयः ।

p. 386 = p. 404 —अतएव श्राद्धविवेके पितुरभावे तुल्यन्यायतया माता-पीत्युक्तमिति ।

p. 390 = p. 407 —समानोदकसन्ततिरिति वक्ष्यमाणात् श्राद्धविवेकेऽप्येवम् ।

p. 392 = pp. 408-9 —आदाहेति. . . श्राद्धविवेकेऽप्येवम्. . . . . स्त्रीणामधिकारः ।

pp. 392-3 = pp. 408 and 410 —मार्कण्डेयपुराणम् । 'सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः. . . यद्वर्दहोदितम्' । स्त्रियोऽत्र. . . . वेति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
(The same as the first quot. on p. 297 of Sr.T.)

p. 393 = p. 410 —एवमेवामन्त्रकमिति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
(The same as the second quot. on p. 297 of Sr.T.)

pp. 394-5 = pp. 285-6 —एकोद्दिष्टं नान्यद्वारा. . . . तथेति श्राद्धविवेकः ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 305-6 of Sr.T.)

p. 397 = —यथा श्राद्धविवेकेऽपि पार्वणश्राद्धानन्तरं नित्यश्राद्धे विकल्प उक्तः ।

p. 399 = pp. 407-8 —मातृपक्षस्य मातामहपक्षस्य. . समानोदका इति श्राद्धविवेकेऽपि व्याख्यातम् ।

11. Divyatattva

Div.T. S.V.

p. 586 = pp. 54-5 —अतएव देवतैक्ये. . . . . भवत्यमावास्यायामित्यत्रेति श्राद्ध-विवेकः ।

12. Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsargatattva

Y.V.T. S.V.

p. 638 = p. 253 —एवमेव श्राद्धविवेक-हरिशर्मप्रभृतयः ।

(d) *Sambandhaviveka*

1. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Sm.V.

p. 108 = p. 19 —शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायैस्तु क्षेत्रमात्रगोत्रस्य. . . पितुरित्युक्तम् ।

p. 111 = p. 20 —अतएवासमानार्षगोत्रजामिति ब्राह्मणादिवर्णत्रयविषयमिति सम्बन्धविवेकः ।

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2. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Sm.V.
p. 279 = ——सम्बन्धविवेके पितृबन्धूनामप्यशौचमुक्तञ्च सङ्गच्छते ।
p. 397 = ——यथा 'सपिण्डता तु....त्रिपौरुषी'। अत्र कन्यानामनूढानाम्।.....कन्यानामिति शूलपाणि-महामहोपाध्यायाः ।

VIII. RĀYAMUKUṬA

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Rāy.
p. 103 = ——अत्रोक्तविरुद्धवचनानि भोजदेव.....रायमुकुटकृत्यमहार्णवप्रभृतिभिः अनादृतानि ।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Rāy.
p. 200 = f. 240*b* (S.R.H.) ——रायमुकुटप्रभृतिभिरेव पुरोरूयन्त इति स्वकपोलरचितव्युत्पत्त्या ओकारयुक्तः पाठः कृतः। (स तु राजविशेषवाचकः।)
p. 213 = ——अतएव गोभिलीय...लिखितमिति **नव्यवर्धमान**... रायमुकुटपद्धतिष्वपि तथा लिखितम् ।

3. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Rāy.
p. 828 = f. 24*a* (S.R.H.) ——रायमुकुटज्योतिःकालकौमुद्यां यत्तु 'मकरस्थं...गृहेषु च' इत्यादिदेवलवचनम् ।
(Rāy. reads the above text a bit differently and as a quot. from the Devīpurāṇa.)

4. Dāyatattva

D.T. Rāy.
p. 186 = ——'यदेतत् हृदयन्तव...तवे'ति मन्त्रलिङ्गात् 'यौतुकं तदि'ति वाचस्पतिमिश्र-रायमुकुटधृतात् यौतुकं यौतकमपि साधु ।

5. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Rāy.
p. 281 = ——मातृबन्धौ....तदधिकं युक्तं रायमुकुटप्रभृतयोऽप्येवम् ।
p. 283 = ——अत्रानूढकन्यायाः पित्रादिमरणे सम्पूर्णाशौचं कार्य्यमिति रायमुकुटप्रभृतयः तन्न ।

6. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. Rāy.
p. 487 = ff. 249*b*-250*a* (S.R.H.) ——अत्र च.....यवप्रक्षेप इति रायमुकुटप्रभृतयः ।

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Y.Sr.T. Rāy.

p. 488 = —एवमेव.....रायमुकुटाचार्य्यचूडामण्यादयः।

p. 498 = —एतेन दक्षिणत आरभ्य आसनादिसम्प्रदानं.....राय-मुकुटाद्युक्तं युक्तम्।

,, = —एवमेवापिपाल...रायमुकुटप्रभृतिपद्धतिषु।

IX. Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi (Guru of Raghunandana)

(a) *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. K.Tr.

p. 86 = p. 98 —कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवे राजमार्तण्डः। 'मूलेन....सम्प्रेषयेत्'। (K.Tr. reads 'अतएव कात्यायनवचनं जीमूतवाहनेन लिखितम्' for राजमार्तण्डः।)

p. 161 = p. 34 —'मेघमाला.....स्नानपूर्वकम्'। इति कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव-धृतवचनात्।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. K.Tr.

p. 357 = cf. p. 146 —येन वाससा स्नानं कृतं जलस्थस्य तेनैव तर्पणमिति कृत्य-तत्त्वार्णवः।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. K.Tr.

p. 498 = pp. 74-5 —यव्यद्वयं...व्याहिकरजोयोगस्तु नीराजनाद्यर्थं इति शङ्खधर इति कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवः।

p. 509 = —कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवेऽपि स्कन्दपुराणम्। 'विशेषतस्तु...सर्व-कर्मसु'।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. K.Tr.

p. 813 = —एवमेव श्राद्धचिन्तामणि-कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवौ।

5. Udvāhatattva

U.T. K.Tr.

p. 132 = —श्राद्धचिन्तामणि-कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवयोः। 'एवमागामि.....कर्मणः'।

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. K.Tr.

p. 236 = p. 147 —कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवे बृहन्नारदीयम्। 'बालापत्याश्च.....चिर्तां शुभे'।

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(*b*) *Śuddhitattvārṇava*

S.T. S.Tr.
p. 257 = —एवमेव शुद्धितत्त्वार्णवे ।

(*c*) *Vivāhatattvārṇava*

U.T. V.Tr.
p. 117 = p. 336 (A.B.O.R.I.) Vol. XXXII —'आसप्तमात्....पितृमातृतः' इति नारदवचने.. .. विवक्षितत्वात् एवमेव विवाहतत्त्वार्णवः ।

(*d*) *Gurucaraṇāḥ*

1 Tithitattva

T.T.
p. 31 = p. 44 (K.Tr.) —यत्तु 'चतुर्थी.....क्वचित्' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तवचनं..... तद्विनायकव्रतपरमिति गुरुचरणाः ।

p. 85 = —गुरुचरणा अप्येवम् ।

p. 150 = —एवमेव गुरुचरणाः ।

2. Malamāsatattva

M.T.
pp. 769-70 = p. 14 (K.Tr.) —गुरुचरणास्तु 'द्वे ह वै...राश्यन्तरसंयोगरूपफलपरत्वमाहुः । (K.Tr. reads क्षण for फल ।)

p. 815 = —प्रागुक्तत्रयोदशीं.....त्रिजन्मनक्षत्रमिति व्याख्यानं गुरुचरणानामपि प्रामाणिकम् ।

3. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T.
p. 873 = —एवमेव गुरुचरणाः ।

4. Ekādaśītattva

E.T.
p. 5 = —एवमेव गुरुचरणाः ।

p. 103 = p. 115 (K.Tr.) —तदेवं द्वादश्याम्.....कार्येदिति गुरुचरणाः ।

5. Śuddhitattva

S.T.
p. 401 = —परजातमरणे तु.....पूर्वजननावधिस्थायित्वादिति गुरुचरणाः ।

6. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T.
p. 493 = —एवं श्राद्धचन्द्रिकायां गुरुचरणाः ।

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Y.Sr.T.
p. 500 = —पितृब्राह्मणकरे. . . . चिन्त्यमिति श्राद्धचन्द्रिकायां गुरु-चरणाः।

7. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T.
p. 547 = —एवमेव गुरुचरणाः।

(e) *Bhaṭṭācāryacaraṇāḥ*

1. Śuddhitattva

S.T.
p. 336 = —तदाशुच्यं. . . इति रत्नमाला (?) भट्टाचार्य्यचरणाः।

(f) *Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi*

1. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T.
p. 488 = —एवमेव हरिहर. . . . रायमुकुटाचार्य्यचूडामण्यादयः।

2. Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsargatattva

Y.V.T.
p. 640 = —एवमेव हरिशर्म-पशुपति-रामदत्ताचार्य्यचूडामणिप्रभृतयः।

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B—Mithilā

I. Śrīdatta

(*a*) *Samaya-pradīpa*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. S.Pr.

p. 40 = f. 53*b* —अत्र अमावास्याष्टमीव्यतिरिक्ताः . . . चैत्रतृतीयैव ग्राह्या। श्रीदत्तोऽप्येवम्।
(S.Pr. reads अमावास्यामष्टमीं च विहाय सर्वाः, etc.)

p. 58 = f. 48*a* —असवर्णजलदाननिषेधस्तु प्रकरणादपि भ्रात्रादिविषय इति श्रीदत्तः।

p. 85 = f. 42*a* —न तु श्रीदत्त . . . . वाचस्पतिमिश्रोक्ता शतभिषा।

2. Malamāsatattva

M.T. S.Pr.

p. 839 = f. 33*b* —समयप्रदीपे श्रीदत्तः। 'दार्सी . . . . चक्रिणः' ॥. . . . स्वर्गवदधिकारिविशेषणत्वेन तत्सत्त्वप्रसाधनादित्याह।
(S.Pr. reads °स्वर्गवदधिकरविशेषणसत्वे प्रमाणाभावात्।)

3. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. S.Pr.

p. 7 = f. 3*a* —स्वकर्तव्यविषयो . . . व्रतमिति श्रीदत्त . . . . प्रभृतयः।

pp. 3-9-11 = ff. 1*b* and 2*a-b* —गृहीतव्रताकरणे दोषमाह छागलेयः 'पूर्वं व्रतं . . . चैव जायते'। . . . प्रमादस्य . . . देवलः 'सर्वभूतमयं . . . . . शास्त्रतः' . . . . . एकभक्तत्वमायाति। . . . . मैथिलास्तु अद्य भगवन् . . . अद्यारभ्येति विशेष इत्याह (°हुः ?)।

p. 15 = f. 3*a* —श्रीदत्तादीनां मतेऽपि स्वकर्तव्यविषयो . . . व्रतमिति लक्षणे।
(The same as the quot. on p. 7 of E.T.)

pp. 44-5 = f. 7*b* —समयप्रदीपोऽपि यत्र पूर्वदिने . . . . . 'द्वादश्येकादशीमिश्रा . . . सदा तिथिः'।
(S.Pr. reads 'एकादशीदशायुक्ता . . . . महाफले 'ति.)

pp. 45-46 = f. 7*a* —तथा च समयप्रदीपे श्रीदत्तोपाध्यायाः यदि तु 'एकादशीम् . . . नं दशम्या युतां क्वचित्' . . . जितामित्रादिभिरित्याहुः।

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E.T. S.Pr.
p. 105 = ff. 35*a-b* —हरिनाथोपाध्यायास्तु यमः 'क्षीराब्धौ...केशवः'।... एवमेव श्रीदत्तोपाध्यायाः।.....श्रीभगवद्वाक्यम् 'मच्छयने....फलमूलजलाहारी हृदि शल्यं समार्पयेत्' ....तेन सर्वथा अनशनपरत्वम्।

(*b*) *Acārādarśa*

1. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Ācār.
p. 419 = f. 57(2)*b* —तेन.....सर्वथैव इति। एवमेव श्रीदत्तोपाध्यायाः।

(*c*) *Pitṛbhakti*

1. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. P.B.
p. 275 = f. 16*b* —एतेन 'प्रेतश्राद्धेषु...प्रणववर्जितम्'.....सांवत्सरिक-विषयमिति कल्पतरुश्रीदत्त-वाचस्पतिमिश्राद्युक्तं निरस्तम्।

2. Malamāsatattva

M.T. P.B.
p. 790 = f. 40*a* —एतेन सपिण्डीकरणापकर्षपक्षे वर्षान्ते सांवत्सरिकं कार्य्यं बाधकाभावादिति श्रीदत्तवाचस्पतिमिश्रोक्तं हेयम्। (P.B. reads सपिण्डीकरणापकर्षपक्षे सांवत्सरिकश्राद्धं कर्तव्यं।)

3. Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva

Y.Sr.T. P.B.
p. 495 = ff. 35*a-b* —नावाहनमिति अत्र कात्यायनेन आवाहने...निवर्तते इति श्रीदत्तः। तन्न।

pp. 495-6 = f. 16*b* —एकोद्दिष्टे प्रणववर्जितं....प्रेतश्राद्धविषयकमिति श्रीदत्त-वाचस्पतिमिश्रप्रभृतयः। तन्न।

p. 500 = f. 22*a* —पितृब्राह्मणकरे जलं दद्यादिति श्रीदत्तादिलिखितं चिन्त्यमिति श्राद्धचन्द्रिकायां गुरुचरणाः।

II. Caṇḍeśvara

(*a*) *Kṛtyaratnākara*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. K.R.
p. 34 = p. 233 —रत्नाकरे—'पिचुमर्दस्य पत्राणि....भोजयेत्'। पिचु-मर्दस्य निम्बस्य।

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T.T. K.R.

p. 38 = p. 489 ——अतएव कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोः। 'य इच्छेद्विपुलान्. . . . माघफाल्गुनौ' इति विष्णुस्मृतौ।

p. 66 = p. 361 ——अतएव 'कन्यासंस्थे. . . सर्वकामप्रदायिनी'. . . . . षष्ठ्यां प्रातः सङ्कल्प इति रत्नाकरः।

pp. 85-6 = p. 351 ——कृत्यरत्नाकरे तु 'नक्षत्रे वारुणेऽपि वा' इत्यत्र पुनर्देवीपुराणे 'रक्षर्क्षे वारिभेऽपि वा' इति पाठः व्याख्यातञ्च रक्षर्क्षे मूलानक्षत्रे वारिभे पूर्वाषाढानक्षत्रे इति।

p. 123 = p. 294 ——पूजाडोरकबन्धनमन्त्रस्तु रत्नाकरे। 'अनन्तसंसारमहासमुद्रे . . . .नमो नमस्ते'।

p. 146 = pp. 295–8 ——गन्धादिकन्तु. . . . प्रयोगाङ्गकर्तृधर्मत्वादिति रत्नाकरः।

2. Jyotistattva

J.T. K.R.

p. 688 = pp. 532–4 ——कृत्यरत्नाकरे ब्रह्मपुराणम्। 'चैत्रे च. . . . बान्धवैः सह'।

3. Malamāsatattva

M.T. K.R.

p. 743 = pp. 295–8 ——गन्धादिकन्तु. . . . प्रयोगाङ्गकर्तृधर्मत्वादिति रत्नाकरः। (The same as the quot. on p. 146 of T.T.)

p. 768 = p. 81 ——कृत्यरत्नाकरेऽप्येवम्।

4. Kṛtyatattva

K.T. K.R.

p. 437 = p. 233 ——रत्नाकरे—'पिचुमर्दस्य पत्राणि. . . . . भोजयेत्'। पिचुमर्दस्य निम्बस्य। (The same as the quot. on p. 34 of T.T.)

(*b*) *Gṛhastharatnākara*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Gr.R.

p. 38 = p. 131 ——अतएव कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोः—'य इच्छेद्विपुलान्. . . माघफाल्गुनौ' इति विष्णुस्मृतौ। (Also quoted on p. 489 of K.R.)

p. 120 = p. 189 ——गृहस्थरत्नाकरे देवलः। 'महानिशा . . . . काम्यनैमित्तिकादृते'।

2. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Gr.R.

p. 336 = p. 151 ——क्रमन् कम्पमान इति रत्नाकरः। (Gr.R. reads ज्वलन् for क्रमन् here and also in the text of Devala, preceding this comment.)

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A.T. Gr.R.

p. 339 = p. 155 —घ्राणान् इन्द्रियाणीति रत्नाकरः।
(Gr.R. reads प्राणान् for घ्राणान् here and also in the text of Paiṭhinasi, preceding this comment.)

p. 367 = pp. 197-8 —यव्यो मासः.....सम्प्रदायोऽप्येवमिति रत्नाकरः।

p. 380 = p. 223 —सर्वावस्थो नित्यं सेवकादिकर्मरतोऽपि यथोचितशौचेऽप्यशक्तोऽपीति रत्नाकरः।
(Gr.R. reads सर्वावस्थोऽपि निन्द्यसेवादिकर्मरतोऽपि यथोचितशौचे अप्रसक्तोऽपि चेत्यर्थः।)

p. 401 = p. 270 —लघुहारीतः। 'स्नानं कृत्वा तु ये केचित् पुष्पं गृह्णन्ति वै द्विजाः। देवतास्तन्न गृह्णन्ति भस्मीभवति काष्ठवत्'। एतत्तु द्वितीयस्नानाभिप्रायकमति रत्नाकरः।
(Gr.R. reads चिन्वन्ति for the first गृह्णन्ति।)

p. 424 = p. 286 —वायसबलिदानमन्त्रे तु....रत्नाकर....**नव्यवर्धमान**-धृत-'सौम्या' इति लिखनात्।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Gr.R.

p. 505 = p. 168 —'दन्तलग्नमसंहार्य्यं.....व्रणे कृते'॥ रत्नाकरादयोऽप्येवम्।

p. 509 = p. 189 —गृहस्थरत्नाकरे देवलः। 'महानिशा.....काम्यनैमित्तिकादृते'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 120 of T.T.)

p. 520 = p. 294 —'दीर्घकालं....द्विजातिभिः'। इति....गृहस्थरत्नाकर-धृत-ब्रह्मपुराणवचनात्।

4. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. Gr.R.

p. 890 = p. 58 —कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोर्गृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'कन्यां ..... प्राङ्मुखाः'।

p. 893 = p. 54 —तथा च रत्नाकरः। 'पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्रा विवाहकर्माङ्गभूताः' इति।

5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Gr.R.

p. 69 = p. 270 —लघुहारीतः। 'स्नानं कृत्वा....काष्ठवत्'। एतत्तु द्वितीयस्नानाभिप्रायकमिति रत्नाकरः।
(The same as the quot. on p. 401 of A.T.)

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6. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Gr.R.

p. 107 = p. 54 ——तथा च रत्नाकरः। 'पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्रा विवाहकर्माङ्ग भूता' इति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 893 of Sm.T.)

" = p. 56 ——व्यक्तमाह रत्नाकरधृतो लघुहारीतः। 'तत्रापि पाणिग्रहणे न जायात्वं.....सप्तमे पदे' इति।

d. 109 = p. 10 ——असमानजातीयाविवाहे त्रीणित्यादिव्यवस्थितविकल्पित इति रत्नाकरादयः।

pp. 118-9 = p. 11 ——अन्यथैताः कन्यकाः....सङ्करकारित्वमेवेत्यर्थः इति रत्नाकरः।

p. 119 = p. 28 ——कृतकौतुकमङ्गलां....दत्तेति रत्नाकरः।

p. 121 = p. 90 ——एकवृषण एकाण्डः पण्डविशेष इति रत्नाकरः।

" = p. 88 ——धनवार्द्धुषिकादित्रयं देशान्तरस्थितञ्च ज्येष्ठं त्वरन्नपि वर्षत्रयं प्रतीक्षेत। अशृण्वान इति पाठस्तु रत्नाकरे। प्रोषितस्य...कृच्छ्रपादं चरेत्।
(But Gr.R. reads अशृण्वानम् as U.T. does in the text of the Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa, quoted above.)

p. 122 = p. 88 ——रत्नाकरकृद्भिस्तु श्रूयमाणे...निवृत्तिरिति व्याख्यातम्।

" = p. 90 ——योगशास्त्राभियुक्ते विषयात्यन्तविरक्ते इति रत्नाकरः।
(Gr. R. reads °विमुक्ते for °विरक्ते.)

p. 127 = pp. 40-41 ——बान्धवः पितामहः.....एवमेव रत्नाकरः।

p. 130 = p. 55 ——रत्नाकरकृतापि प्रदानेनैव...निवर्तते इति व्याख्यातम्...कन्यायामिति बोध्यम्।

p. 138 = p. 58 ——उदककरणकमेव ब्राह्मणानां कन्यादानं प्रशस्यते। क्षत्रियादीनां पुनर्दातृप्रतिग्रहीत्रोर्दानग्रहणेच्छाकरणेन जलं विनापि दानं प्रशस्यते। न तु जलकरणकत्वं तेषां निषिद्धयते। व्यवहारोऽपि यथा (तथा?)। रत्नाकरकृद्भिस्तु कन्यावरयोः परस्परानुरागेण इति।

(Gr.R. reads:—इतरेतरकाम्यया कन्यावरयोः परस्परानुरागेण। एवञ्च अद्भिरेवेत्येवकारेण ब्राह्मणानां कन्याया वरस्य परस्परानुरागो नावश्यं दृश्यते (or मृग्यते according to a diff. reading in the footnote). अद्भिरेवेति वचनं ब्राह्मणे प्राशस्त्यतात्पर्य्यकमिति। शूद्रेणापि कन्यादाने कर्त्तव्ये जलस्य विनियोग एवेति ज्ञेयम्। तथैव सम्प्रदायः।)

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U.T. Gr.R.

p. 143 = p. 58 —कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोर्गृह्यपरिशिष्टम् । 'कन्यां..... प्राङ्मुखाः' । D.T. p. 165
(The same as the quot. on p. 890 of Sm.T.)

pp. 146-7 = p. 80 —तथा च गृहस्थरत्नाकरे वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः । 'विवाहे विततेः ...ततस्तन्त्रं प्रवर्तयेत्' । p. 167
(Gr.R. reads याज्ञवल्क्यः for वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः ।)

7. Śuddhitattva p. 172

S.T. Gr.R.

p. 351 = p. 126 —तामसी वृद्धिः म्लेच्छाधिपत्यरूपा इति रत्नाकरः ।
(Gr.R. reads तामसी ऋद्धिः म्लेच्छाधिपत्यादिरूपोक्ता ।)

pp. 351-2 = pp. 126 and 472 —आर्त्त्या परपीडया, प्रतिरूपकेण कृत्रिमरत्नादिना, साहसेन समुद्रयान-गिर्य्यारोहणादिना, व्याजेन ब्राह्मणवेशेन शूद्रादिना, कृच्छ्रं तामसमिति रत्नाकरः । p. 174
(Gr.R. reads :—आर्त्तिः परपीडा, प्रतिरूपकं द्रव्याभासः, साहसः चौर्य्यम्, व्याजः वहित्रयात्रादिव्याप्तोपद्रव्यमिश्रीकरणम् । तामसं कृष्णम् । S.T. and Gr.R. read कृच्छ्रं and कृष्णं respectively in the preceding text of Nārada, quoted by both of them.) p. 175 p. 177

(c) *Vivādaratnākara*

1. Tithitattva p. 178

T.T. V.R.

p. 68 = p. 122 —तथा च.....रत्नाकरशान्तिदीपिकासु नारदः । 'ऋत्विक् .....प्रीतिपूर्वकम्' । p. 182 p. 184

2. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. V.R.

p. 896 = p. 430 —शङ्खलिखितौ । 'न नाभिं दर्शयेत्....विवृतौ कुर्य्यात्' इति ।....रत्नाकरोऽप्येवम् । p. 190

3. Udvāhatattva p. 195

U.T. V.R.

p. 128 = p. 133 —गोतमः । 'प्रतिश्रुत्याप्यधर्मसंयुक्ताय न दद्यादिति' अधर्मोऽत्र दानानर्हताप्रयोजक इति विवादरत्नाकरः ।

p. 150 = p. 145 —भक्तेनान्नेन दासः....कृतदास्य इत्यर्थ इति रत्नाकरः । Vy.T. p. 233
(V.R. reads भक्तार्थमेवाङ्गीकृतदास्यः for भक्तेनान्नेन दासः ।)

p. 150 = p. 142 —व्यक्तमाह बृहस्पतिः । 'यो...वडवाकृतः ।...नरः' ॥ ...रत्नाकरादयोऽप्येवम् । S.T. p. 236
(V.R. reads वनिताभूतः for वडवाकृतः ।) 6

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4. Dāyatattva

D.T. V.R.

p. 165 = p. 507 —देशादिभेदेनापि विभागमाह कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोः कात्यायनः। 'देशस्य....प्रकल्पयेत्'।

p. 167 = p. 484 —अतएव व्यक्तमाह रत्नाकरधृतकात्यायनः। 'अविभक्ते ...पित्र्यञ्च...सुतात्'।
(V.R. reads पित्र्यन्तु for पित्र्यञ्च।)

p. 172 = p. 489 —अगुणवान् गुणविरुद्धदोषवान् अगुणवद्ग्रासाच्छादनदातार इति रत्नाकरः।
(V.R. reads:— अगुणवान् अग्रिमवाक्यखण्डे व्यक्तः। तत्पिण्डदाः अगुणवद्ग्रासाच्छादनदातारः।)

p. 174 = p. 509 —कुले सकुले.....तद्विभजनीयमिति कल्पतरु-रत्नाकरौ।

p. 175 = p. 626 —अतएव रत्नाकरादिधृतस्मृतिः। 'न्यासं कृत्वा.... बलवत्तरा'।

p. 177 = p. 501 —भूमौ.....शङ्खः। 'पूर्वनष्टाञ्च....तुरीयकम्' एतद्वचनं स्मृतिमहार्णव.....प्रभृतिषु अलिखनादयुक्त-मेवेति रत्नाकरः। (तन्न दायभागमिताक्षराप्रभृति धृतत्वात्।)

p. 178 = p. 59 —प्रभोरिति कर्तरि षष्ठी तेन प्रभुणा दातव्यमिति रत्नाकरः।

p. 182 = p. 615 —'येनांशो.....अनुबन्धकृत्' इति रत्नाकरधृत-बृहस्पति-वचनेऽपि स्वेच्छाकृतपदोपादानात्....इत्यवगम्यते।

p. 184 = p. 516 —कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोः कात्यायनः। 'अपकारक्रियायुक्ता... न च सार्हति'।

p. 190 = p. 484 —पुत्रादिविभागक्रमं व्यक्तमाह रत्नाकरधृतकात्यायनः। 'अविभक्ते.....परतो भवेत्'।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 167 of D.T.)

p. 195 = p. 610 (f.n. 6) —रत्नाकरप्रभृतयस्तु 'यस्तु कल्पतरौ नान्योदर्य्यधनं हरेदिति पाठो दृश्यते....लिपिकरप्रमाद' इत्याहुः।

5. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. V.R.

p. 233 = p. 59 —प्रभोरिति.....दातव्यमिति रत्नाकरः।
(The same as the quot. on p. 178 of D.T.)

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. V.R.

p. 236 = p. 443 —ऋग्वेदवादात्.....विवादकल्पतरुरत्नाकरौ।

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S.T. V.R.

p. 236 = p. 443 —कल्पतरुरत्नाकरशुद्धिचिन्तामणिषु पादुकाद्वयमिति दर्शनात् पादुकादिकमित्यपपाठः किन्तु पादुकाद्वयमित्युपलक्षणम् ।

p. 306 = p. 430 —शङ्खलिखितौ । 'न नाभिं दर्शयेत्. . . . विवृतौ कुर्य्यात्' इति । . . . . . रत्नाकरोऽप्येवम् ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 896 of Sm.T.)

„ = p. 430 —गृहमेध्या . . . . . नित्यस्नानानन्तरकृतामिति रत्नाकरः ।

p. 327 = p. 59 —प्रभोरिति . . . . . दातव्यमित्यर्थ इति रत्नाकरव्याख्यानात् ।
(The same as the quotations on p. 178 of D.T. and p. 233 of Vy.T.)

p. 323 = p. 122 —'ऋत्विक्. . . . . प्रीतिपूर्वकम्' इति विवादरत्नाकर. . . धृत-नारदयज्ञपार्श्ववचने ।
(The same as the quot. on p. 68 of T.T.)

p. 385 = p. 490 —निरिन्द्रियाः षड्ग्वादयः . . . . . गृह्यन्ते इति रत्नाकरः ।

p. 390 = p. 592 —एवमेव . . . . . रत्नाकरवाचस्पतिमिश्रादयः ।

7. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. V.R.

p. 627 = p. 136 —'सुस्थेनार्तेन . . . . . नात्र संशयः' । इति विवादरत्नाकर-धृतकात्यायनवचनात् ।

(d) Śuddhiratnākara

1. Śuddhitattva

S.T. S.R.

p. 265 = p. 61 —न च 'अप्रत्तानां . . . . . साप्तपौरुषम्' इति रत्नाकरधृत-कूर्मपुराणवचनात् . . . . रुद्रधरोक्तं युक्तम् ।

p. 265 = p. 30 —रत्नाकरादौ शङ्खः विष्णुधर्मोत्तरञ्च । 'पितृवेश्मनि. . . शाम्यति' ।

p. 266 = p. 29 —न चैतत् सगुणशूद्रस्य जातदन्तविषयमिति रत्नाकराद्युक्तं युक्तम् ।

pp. 266-7 = p. 24 —'बाले चाजातदन्ते च त्रिरात्रं शावाशौच'मिति गोतम-रत्नाकरधृतवैवस्वतवचनेन चैकमूलत्वात् ।

p. 272 = p. 2 —अन्यज्जननमरणाद्भिन्नं मरणान्तं दशममिति रत्नाकरः ।
(S.R. omits अन्य . . . . भिन्नं ।)

p. 280 = p. 41 —मिताक्षरारत्नाकरयोर्बृहन्मनुवचनञ्च । 'मातुले . . . . . यदि' इति ।

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S.T. S.R.

p. 288 = p. 34 —मनुः। 'शस्त्रेणाभिमुखो....क्षत्रधर्मणा। यज्ञः सन्तिष्ठते ....विधीयते'। क्षत्रधर्मेण.....समाप्तिमेतीति रत्नाकरः।

p. 301 = p. 57 —तथा च शुद्धिरत्नाकरे दक्षः। 'सुस्थकाले....सूतकम्'।

p. 321 = p. 79 —अशक्तविषये रत्नाकरे विशेषमाहापस्तम्बः। 'भार्य्याः... कुर्वीरन्निति'। संस्था.....तत्कालपर्य्यन्तम्।

p. 341 = p. 41 —अतएव दिवामृते.....रात्रिमात्रमिति हारलतारत्नाकरादयः।

p. 397 = p. 61 —यत्तु कूर्मपुराणम्। 'अप्रत्तानां.....पितामहः'। इति रत्नाकरधृतम् तद्विवाहे पितृपक्षविषयम्।
(The first line of the above quotation from the Kūrmapurāṇa quoted as from Ratnākara on p. 265 of S.T.)

(*e*) *Dānaratnākara*

1. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. D.R.

p. 478 = f. 5*b* —तथा च दानरत्नाकरे। 'सर्वत्र गुणवद्दानं..... विशेषतः'।

pp. 535-6 = f. 41*b* —तिलधेनुमाह रत्नार्णवे (रत्नाकरे?) वराहपुराणम्। 'तिलधेनुं....कामभाग्भवेत्'।

2. Jyotistattva

J.T. D.R.

p. 663 = f. 17*b* —'मध्यमाङ्गुलि.....कर' इत्यभियुक्तस्मरणादिति कल्पतरुरत्नाकरौ।

p. 689 = f. 80*b* —दानरत्नाकरे देवीपुराणम्। 'ये च पापा....श्रीफलभेदिनः'।

3. Malamāsatattva

M.T. D.R.

p. 793 = f. 2*a* —शूद्रस्य पूर्ताधिकारमाह जातूकर्णः। 'वापीकूप.... न वैदिके'।....अग्निहोत्रादाविति रत्नाकरः।

4. Udvāhatattva

U.T. D.R.

p. 140 = f. 11*b* —एवञ्च रत्नाकरधृतयमवचने....तद्यथा 'शूद्रे.... स्मृतम्'।

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5. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. D.R.
p.214 = f. 10*a* —दानरत्नाकरे श्रोत्रियमाह देवलः। 'एकां शाखां.... धर्मवित्'।

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. D.R.
p. 284 = f. 73*a* —तत्र फलान्याह दानरत्नाकरे नरसिंहपुराणम्। 'जलप्रवेशी ....त्रिपिष्टपम्'।

p. 345 = ff. 2*b*-3*a* —देवलः। 'अर्थानामुदिते.....वक्ष्यते'। उदिते... ..निवर्तते इति रत्नाकरप्रभृतयः।

p. 350 = f. 9*b* —शूद्रस्त्वत्वाश्रयान्नाभोजीति रत्नाकरः।

p. 354 = f. 6*a* —अवोक्ष्य प्रोक्ष्येति रत्नाकरः।

p. 354 = f. 6*a* —अन्वाहार्य्यदानादौ.....नियमः इति कल्पतरुरत्नाकरौ।

7. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. D.R.
p. 514 = f. 17*b* —तथा च कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोः। 'मध्यमाङ्गुलि..... करः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 663 of J.T.)

pp. 517-8 = f. 2*a* —वापीदानादीनां पूर्तत्वात् स्त्री-शूद्राधिकारे जातूकर्णः। 'वापीकूप.....न वैदिके'।.....अग्निहोत्रादाविति रत्नाकरः।
(The same as the quot. on p. 793 of M.T.)

p. 519 = f. 78*a* —'कुलशील....द्विजोत्तमः'। स्थापक आचार्य्य इति रत्नाकरः।

pp. 522-3 = ff. 79*b*-80*a* —दानकल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोर्बह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। अथातो .....स्वस्ति वाचयतीति'।

p. 525 = f. 79*a* —अत्र विशेषमाह रत्नाकरधृतं मत्स्यपुराणम्। 'फलानि... जलाशयम्'।

8. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. D.R.
p. 630 = f. 64*a* —तत्प्रतिपत्तिमाह दानरत्नाकरे स्कन्दपुराणम्। 'यत् किञ्चिद्...स्मृतम्'।

pp. 631-2 = f. 2*a* —पूर्तमाह रत्नाकरे जातूकर्णः। 'वापीकूप.....वैदिके'। ...अग्निहोत्रादाविति रत्नाकरः।
(The same as the quotations on p. 793 of M.T. and pp. 517-8 of J.L.T.)

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III. Vidyāpati

(*a*) Gaṅgāvākyāvalī

1. Tithitattva

T.T. G.V.

p. 39 = —अतएव गङ्गावाक्यावली-तीर्थचिन्तामण्योः। यत्तु प्रयागे. . . . तदानन्त्यापत्तेरित्युक्तम्।

p. 79 = —एवञ्च गङ्गावाक्यावल्यां 'त्रैवर्णिकेन. . . . . द्विज-शुश्रूषारतेन च'।

p. 142 = —'अर्द्धरात्राद्. . . . . पुण्यदे' इति संवत्सरप्रदीप-गङ्गा-वाक्यावलीधृत. . . . वचनैकवाक्यत्वात्।

p. 157 = p. 178 —तथा च संवत्सरप्रदीप-गङ्गावाक्यावल्योः स्मृतिः। 'सूतके . . . . विवर्जितम्'।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. G.V.

p. 259 = p. 301 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम्। 'संवत्सरं. . . . . कारयेत्'।

p. 324 = p. 116 —'गच्छन्. . . . न संशयः' इति भविष्यपुराणादिति गङ्गा-वाक्यावली।

p. 325 = p. 301 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम्। 'संवत्सरं. . . . . कारयेत्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 259 of Sr.T.)

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. G.V.

pp. 486-7 = pp. 263-4 —'स्वल्पसाध्ये. . . . . विमुच्यते'। इति गङ्गावाक्यावली-धृतस्कन्दपुराणवचनात्।

p. 489 = p. 116 —'गच्छन्. . . . न संशयः' इति भविष्यपुराणादिति गङ्गा-वाक्यावली। (The same as the quot. on p. 324 of Sr.T.)

pp. 492-3 = p. 301 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम्। 'संवत्सरं. . . . . कारयेत्'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 259 and 325 of Sr.T.)

p. 496 = p. 166 —व्यतीपातेन चन्द्रमा इति गङ्गावाक्यावल्युक्तपाठोऽनन्वित-त्वाद्धेयः।

p. 499 = p. 207 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम्। 'गङ्गातीरे. . . . . भवेत्'।

" = p. 207 —गङ्गायामिति तीरपरमिति गङ्गावाक्यावली।

p. 501 = p. 190 —एतेन गङ्गावाक्यावल्योक्तं पृथक्तर्पणं निषिद्धम्।

p. 502 = p. 212 —'तस्मात्. . . . . कनकदक्षिणाम्' इति नन्दिपुराणादिति गङ्गावाक्यावली।

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4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. G.V.

p. 749 = p. 158 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्यां दक्षः । 'चान्द्रेण. . . . . आचरेत्' ।

p. 753 = p. 179 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्यामपि वारुणीस्नाने मधुकृष्णात्रयोदश्यामिति वाक्यरचना ।

p. 764 = p. 180 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्यामपि ज्यैष्ठे संवत्सरे इत्येव पाठः ।

5. Śuddhitattva

S.T. G.V.

p. 348 = p. 207 —गङ्गायामिति गङ्गातीरपरमिति गङ्गावाक्यावली ।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 490 of P.T.)

p. 361 = p. 137 —गङ्गावाक्यावल्यप्येवम् ।

p. 376 = —यत्तु 'त्रिषु. . . . . वरानने' इति गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम्. . . . तदपि कलीतरपरम् ।

(b) *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*

1. Durgotsavatattva (within Tithitattva)

Durgo.T. D.bh.

p. 66 = p. 16 —न च नन्दिकाप्रतिपदिति दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ।

pp. 81-2 = p. 33 —अतएव दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी. . . धृतेन देवीपुराणेन. . . . . अभिहितम् । यथा 'देवीं ध्यात्वा. . . . . कल्पन्तु शाङ्करम्' ।

p. 86 = p. 22 —दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्याम् । 'मूलं प्राप्य. . . . . जह्यात्' ।

p. 93 = p. 66 —अत्र दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां स्वधापूजानन्तरं स्वाहापूजालिखनात् स्वाहान्तपाठनिर्णय इति तन्न मत्स्यसूक्तविरोधात् ।

p. 101 = p. 126 —न च देवीविसर्जनानन्तरं दक्षिणेति दूर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं युक्तम् ।

p. 102 = p. 65 —अत्र कल्पे प्रतिपदि कलसस्थापनं यजमानस्नानार्थं दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां यदुक्तं तन्न युक्तम् ।

p. 103 = —अत्रोक्तविरुद्धवचनानि . . . . . दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी. . . . प्रभृतिभिः अनादृतानि ।

(c) *Dānavākyāvalī*

1. Udvāhatattva

U.T. D.V.

p. 138 = —विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'विवाहादिक्रियाकाले. . . . लभेत्' । आदिशब्दात् यज्ञोपनयनप्रतिष्ठादिग्रहणमिति दान-वाक्यावली ।

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(*d*) *Varṣakṛtya*

1. Malamāsatattva

M.T. V.K.

p. 822 = ——निष्पावः श्वेतशिम्बिरिति वर्षकृत्यम् ।

p. 823 = ——विद्यापतिकृतवर्षकृत्ये कल्पलतायाञ्च गार्ग्यः । 'जीवादित्ये .....कुर्य्यात्' ।

IV. RUDRADHARA

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Rudra.

p. 136 = ——ततः कुवेरः पूज्य इति रुद्रधरः ।

p. 137 = ——अत्र सर्वेषां प्रदोषे पूजेति रुद्रधरः ।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Rudra.

p. 226 = ——किङ्किणी.....द्राक्षा इति रुद्रधरः ।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Rudra.

p. 542 = ——पुष्टिव्रतफलमिति रुद्रधरः ।

4. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Rudra. (Śuddhiviveka)

p. 265 = f. 39*b* ——न च 'अप्रत्तानां...साप्तपौरुषं' इति...वचनात्.... वाग्दानोत्तरविषयमिति रुद्रधरोक्तं युक्तम् ।

p. 287 = f. 7*b* ——(क्रियाहीनस्य नित्यनैमित्तिकक्रियाननुष्ठायिनः) मूर्खस्य गायत्रीरहितस्य । सार्थगायत्रीरहितस्येति रुद्रधरः । (But the Śuddhiviveka reads मूर्खस्य गायत्री-रहितस्य ।)

5. Kṛtyatattva

K.T. Rudra.

p. 471 = ——षट्कृत्तिकापूजा रुद्रधरधृताः । 'शिवा.....मताः' ।।

p. 474 = ——ततो वरं प्रार्थयेत् । 'रूपं देहि....कामांश्च देहि मे' । इति रुद्रधरः ।

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V. Vācaspati Miśra

(a) *Dvaitanirṇaya*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. D.N.	
p. 42 = p. 42	—एतेन द्वादशमासेषु.....जयन्तीव्रतमिति द्वैतनिर्णयोक्तं निरस्तम् उक्तवचनविरोधात् ।
p. 66 = p. 14	—ततश्च श्वो यियक्षुणा.....इति द्वैतनिर्णयोक्तवद् ।
p. 166 = p. 76	—अतएव द्वैतनिर्णयेऽपि साग्निकौरसेन.....प्रयोर्जकत्वादित्युक्तम् ।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. D.N.	
p. 314 = pp. 50-1	—निरामिषश्राद्धशेषघटितपिण्डानां पिण्डांस्तु ..... मधुप्राप्तिरिति द्वैतनिर्णयोक्तञ्च तदयुक्तम् ।

3. Jyotistattva

J.T. D.N.	
pp. 606-7 = pp. 97-8	—यत्तु 'कन्यावृश्चिकमेषेषु मिथुने च झषे वृषे ।....बुधैः सदा' । इत्येतदमूलं द्वैतनिर्णयेऽप्युक्तम् । (D.N. reads °मन्मथे च वृषे झषे, which reading is closer to the same quot. on p. 826 of M.T.)

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. D.N.	
p. 753 = p. 48	—तथा च द्वैतनिर्णये दर्शश्राद्धादौ.....स्पर्शादित्युक्तम् ।
p. 794 = pp. 20-21	—एतेन जलाशयोत्सर्गे....विशेषोपदेशविरहादिति द्वैतनिर्णयोक्तं निरस्तम् ।
p. 802 = p. 76	—द्वैतनिर्णयेऽपि साग्निकौरसेन....प्रयोजकत्वादिति । (The same as the quot. on p. 166 of T.T.)
p. 826 = pp. 97-8	—द्वैतनिर्णये 'कन्या....बुधैः सदा' इति अमूलकमित्युक्तम् । (The same as the quot. on pp. 606-7 of J.T.)
pp. 844-5 = p. 81	—यत्तु 'आहवेषु.....कामिकी' इति.....तच्चिन्त्यम् । .....द्वैतनिर्णयेऽपि इदं हि वाक्यम्....वाक्यभेदापत्तेरित्युक्तम् ।
p. 850 = cf. p. 92 for a quot. from Viṣṇu, similar in import.	—अतएव द्वैतनिर्णये एतद्विषये विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेण त्रयोदशे मासिकश्राद्धमुक्तम् । यथा । 'संवत्सरस्य मध्ये..... प्रेतस्य वार्षिकी' । (= V.D. 2/77/9*b*-10*a*.)

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5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. D.N.

p. 42 = p. 41 —अत्र द्वैतनिर्णयः। एकादशी....वैयर्थ्यादिति तन्न।

p. 43 = p. 40 —अतएव द्वैतनिर्णये स्कन्दपुराणे। 'सम्पूर्णेकादशी.... गृही'।

p. 91 = p. 57 —यत्तु द्वैतनिर्णये.....वाक्यप्रवृत्तेरिति तन्न।

6. Udvāhatattva

U.T. D.N.

p. 116 = —अतएव द्वैतनिर्णयेऽपि.....वीजिनमारभ्येत्युक्तम्।

7. Śuddhitattva

S.T. D.N.

p. 316 = p. 2 —यत्तु 'शर्मेति.....वैश्यशूद्रयोः'...नामावगम्यते इति द्वैतनिर्णये....वचनस्यानभिज्ञानात्।

p. 372 = p. 65 —द्वैतनिर्णयेऽपि आभ्युदयिकञ्च.....सिद्धिरित्युक्तम्।

8. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. D.N.

p. 513 = p. 13 —अथ जलाशयाः।....कूपोऽद्धारको...वापीति द्वैतनिर्णयः।

p. 518 = pp. 20-21 —एतेन जलाशयोत्सर्गे....विशेषोपदेशविरहादिति द्वैतनिर्णयोक्तं निरस्तम्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 794 of M.T.)

9. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. D.N.

p. 529 = p. 61 —तथा च 'आत्मानञ्च.....सुतान्' इत्यादि-कार्ष्णाजिनिवाक्यात्....वृषोत्सर्ग इति द्वैतनिर्णये मिश्राः।

(b) *Tirthacintāmaṇi*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. T.C.

p. 39 = p. 29 —अतएव गङ्गावाक्यावली-तीर्थचिन्तामण्योः। यत्तु प्रयागे ...तदानन्त्यापत्तेरित्युक्तम्।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. T.C.

p. 313 = p. 298 —'श्राद्धं सपिण्डकं.....गयायां पितृपूर्वकम्'। इति तीर्थचिन्तामणिधृतवायुपुराणीयेन।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. T.C.

p. 499 = p. 263 —तीर्थचिन्तामणौ ब्रह्मपुराणम्। 'अत्र दूरे....विचारणा'।

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P.T. T.C.

p. 500 = p. 223 —अतएव महाभारते। 'त्रिषु....शुभैः'। भविष्ये। 'ये नराः...विचारणा'। आभ्यां वचनाभ्यां तीर्थचिन्तामणौ केवलगङ्गाजलेन सतिल-(गङ्गा ?)-जलेन च वाक्यभेदो लिखितः।

p. 503 = p. 266 —'उत्थाय...दद्यात्'। एतदर्द्धं तीर्थचिन्तामणौ अन्यथा पठितम्। तद् यथा 'स्नात्वा...दक्षिणान्तु' इति।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. T.C.

p. 810 = pp. 285-6 —तीर्थचिन्तामणौ गयायां प्रतिप्रसवमाह वायुपुराणम्। 'गयायां....बृहस्पतौ'।
(T.C. reads the third line as न त्यजेत गयाश्राद्धं सिंहस्थेऽपि बृहस्पतौ।)

5. Udvāhatattva

U.T. T.C.

p. 135 = p. 298 —'श्राद्धं सपिण्डकं.....गयायां पितृपूर्वकम्'। इति तीर्थचिन्तामणिधृतवायुपुराणवचनात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 313 of Sr.T.)

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. T.C.

p. 300 = p. 263 —तीर्थचिन्तामणौ ब्रह्मपुराणम्। 'अत्र दूरे...?...विचारणा'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 499 of P.T.)

(c) *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi*

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Sr.C.

p. 20 = p. 139 —ननु अशौचे....प्रयोगे वक्तव्यमिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः। मैवम्।

pp. 38-9 = p. 186 —अतएव.....तन्त्रेणैव सिद्धिरिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः।

p. 118 = —अविभक्तानामप्यत्र पृथक्श्राद्धमावश्यकम्। यथा श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ स्मृतिः। 'विभक्ता...पृथग्विना'।

pp. 161-2 = p. 145 —अतएव स्मृतिः। 'प्रेतश्राद्धे.....कदाचन'। उच्छिष्टं ....पाकस्थाल्यामवशिष्टमिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः।

p. 178 = p. 115 —अत्र श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः। त्रिः पिबेत्....आचारप्रदीपोऽप्येवमिति। तन्न।

p. 179 = p. 89 —श्राद्धचिन्तामणावप्येवम्।

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2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Sr.C.

p. 192 = ——वराहपुराणम्। 'वस्त्र.....विसृजेत् ब्रह्मचारी शुचिर्भवेत्'। विसृजेत् श्राद्धीयब्राह्मणेभ्यो दद्यादिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः।

p. 258 = ——अत्राविभक्तानामपि पृथक्श्राद्धमाह श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ स्मृतिः। 'विभक्ता...पृथग्विना'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 118 of T.T.)

„ = p. 28 ——एतेन पूर्वदिने मघात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं कृत्वा....कार्य्यमिति मिश्रोक्तं हेयम्।

p. 264 = p. 187 ——श्राद्धचिन्तामणावप्येवम्।

p. 278 = p. 145 ——स्मृतिः। 'प्रेतश्राद्धे.....कदाचन'। उच्छिष्टं...पाकस्थाल्यामवशिष्टमिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 161-2 of T.T.)

p. 288 = p. 139 ——नन्वशौचे.....प्रयोक्तव्यमिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः। मैवम्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 20 of T.T.)

p. 290 = p. 153 ——अजहत्स्वार्थलक्षणया.....श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ। तद्वयमप्ययुक्तम्।

p. 305 = pp. 128-9 ——यत्तु श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ। एकोद्दिष्टं....नैकादश्यामनुष्ठानमिति। तन्न।

3. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. Sr.C.

p. 471 = p. 8 ——यत्तु शुद्धये इति प्रायश्चित्तादौ....इति वाचस्पतिमिश्र आह। तन्न।

p. 475 = p. 186 ——अतएव.....तन्त्रेणैव सिद्धिरिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 38-9 of T.T.)

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. Sr.C.

p. 753 = ——श्राद्धचिन्तामणावपि.....निबन्धृभिरादरणादित्युक्तम्।

p. 799 = p. 28 ——ततश्च मघात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं कृत्वा.....कर्त्तव्यमिति वाचस्पतिमिश्रोक्तं हेयम्।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 258 of Sr.T.)

p. 800 = ——अविभक्तानामपि.....कृत्यचिन्तामणौ (श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ ?)-'विभक्ता....पृथग्विना'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 118 of T.T.)

p. 813 = ——एवमेव श्राद्धचिन्तामणि-कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवौ।

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M.T. Sr.C.

pp. 814-5 = —श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ च हारीतः। 'गृहमेधी....पुरातनैर्वा' इति।

p. 844 = p. 22 —न च तत एव.....नित्यत्वादिति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिः। तन्न।

p. 845 = p. 23 —'कन्यां गते.....विधीयते' इति। न चैतल्लक्ष्मीधराद्यलिखितत्वादमूलमिति वाचस्पतिमिश्रोक्तं युक्तम्। भोजदेव....लिखितम्।

5. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Sr.C.

p. 132 = p. 19 —श्राद्धचिन्तामणि-कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवयोः। 'एवमागामि.....पूर्वस्य कर्मणः'।

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Sr.C.

p. 306 = —एतेन स्त्रियास्तु.....लिखनादिति श्राद्धचिन्तामण्युक्तं निरस्तम्।

p. 327 = pp. 188-9 —श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ एतच्च विदेशस्थज्येष्ठे.....कर्म कर्तव्यमिति।

pp. 338-9 = p. 144 —ततः शय्यादान....कर्मपञ्चकाभिधानं मैथिलानां हेयम्।

p. 394 = pp. 128-9 —यत्तु श्राद्धचिन्तामणौ 'एकोद्दिष्टन्तु...श्राद्धस्थानीयमित्यर्थः नैकादश्यामनुष्ठानमिति। तन्न।
(The same as the quot. on p. 305 of Sr.T.)

7. Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇatattva

S.K.V.T. Sr.C.

p. 634 = —'दिन.....वर्जितः'। इति श्राद्धचिन्तामणिधृतवराहपुराणवचनमपि कन्दुपक्वपरम् एवन्तु एतद्वचनं सच्छूद्रपरं मैथिलोक्तं हेयम्।

(d) *Śuddhicintāmaṇi*

1. Udvāhatattva

U.T. S.C.

p. 120 = —मुनिद्वयवचनोक्त.....वैदेश्यमिति शुद्धिचिन्तामणिः।

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2. Śuddhitattva

S.T. S.C.

p. 256 = p. 19 —अतएव वाचस्पतिमिश्रेण प्रथमजनिताघसत्त्वे....प्रकृतमशौचद्वयमित्युक्तम् ।

p. 265 = p. 29 —'पितृवेश्मनि.....शाम्यति'। पितुर्यावज्जीवमशौचमिति वाचस्पतिमिश्राः ।

p. 275 = p. 22 —श्रुत्वा चोर्द्ध दशम्याः पक्षिणीमित्यत्र.....प्राचां मैथिलानां चतुर्मासोपरि अर्वाचाञ्च षण्मासोपरि यत्पक्षिण्यशौचाभिधानं तद्धेयम् ।

p. 282 = p. 16 —हीनवर्णात्र शूद्रा...तेन यद्यपरिणीतशूद्रा...तस्याः प्रसवमरणजमशौचं तद्गर्भजनकस्य यावज्जीवं भवतीत्यर्थ इति शुद्धिचिन्तामणिः ।

p. 292 = pp. 31-2 —एतेनोपसृजन्तीति.....व्यहमिति दर्शनस्मृतिसारप्रदीपा इति वाचस्पतिमिश्रोक्तं हेयम् ।

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C—Orissa

Vidyākara Vājapeyin

Nityācārapaddhati

1. Āhnikatattva

A.T. N.P.

pp. 355-6 = p. 167 —विद्याकरवाजपेयिधृतं 'पवित्रन्तु.....कुत्रचित्'।

p. 357 = p. 194 —विद्याकरधृतं 'तर्जनी....सर्वदा'।

p. 361 = p. 114 —तत्र गङ्गायां विशेषमन्त्रौ विद्याकरधृतौ। 'विष्णुपादार्घ्य-सम्भूते....पुनीहि माम्'।

p. 368 = pp. 203-4 —एवञ्च यद्यपि स्नानाङ्गं तर्पणं.....सन्ध्यानुष्ठानं युक्तमिति विद्याकरः।

p. 375 = p. 210 —विद्याकरधृतं 'यथा यज्ञोपवीतम्' इत्यादि वाक्यात्।

p. 377 = p. 212 —'तीर्थे तिथिविशेषे च....तिलमिश्रितम्'। इति....विद्याकरवाजपेयिधृतमरीचिवचनात्।

p. 401 = p. 192 —अत्र द्विजोत्तमपदं...अपतितत्रैवर्णिकपरमिति विद्याकरः। वस्तुतस्तु विप्र.....परमिति।

p. 415 = p. 191 —विद्याकरधृतम्। 'सहस्रं वा....विधिः स्मृतः'।

2. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. N.P.

p. 502 = p. 114 —तस्यां स्नाने मन्त्रौ विद्याकरलिखितौ। 'विष्णुपादार्घ्य-सम्भूते....पुनीहि माम्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 361 of A.T.)

3. Malamāsatattva

M.T. N.P.

pp. 751-2 = pp. 203-4 —अतएव यद्यपि स्नानाङ्गं तर्पणं....सन्ध्यानुष्ठानं युक्तमिति विद्याकरवाजपेयी।
(The same as the quot. on p. 368 of A.T.)

p. 847 = p. 212 —विद्याकरधृतम्। 'तीर्थे तिथिविशेषे च.....तिलमिश्रितम्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 377 of A.T.)

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4. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. pp. 865-6 = N.P. p. 66 —चरुविधौ तु विद्याकरवाजपेयी। यत्र प्रयोजनाभावनिश्चयस्तत्रैव....प्रयोगानुष्ठानमाह।

5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. pp. 24-8 = N.P. pp. 2-4 —एवञ्चैकादशीव्रतस्य नित्यत्वात्...यावज्जीवाधिकरणन्यायात्....वाक्यान्तरश्रुतस्य.....इति स्कन्दपुराणात्।
(N.P. has got additional matter from other authorities, interspersed within it.)

p. 61 = p. 194 —विद्याकरधृतम्। 'तर्जनी.....सर्वदा'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 357 of A.T.)

p. 68 = p. 192 —अत्र द्विजोत्तमपदं.....अपतितत्रैवर्णिकपरमिति विद्याकरः। वस्तुतस्तु विप्र.....परम्।
(The same as the quotation on p. 401 of A.T.)

p. 75 = p. 191 —विद्याकरधृतम्। 'सहस्रं वा.....विधिः स्मृतः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 415 of A.T.)

p. 81 = pp. 157-9 —विद्याकरधृतानि। 'यः कश्चिद्वैष्णवो....निष्फलं भवेत्'।

p. 89 = p. 66 —अतएव विद्याकरः। शास्त्रावधारणवेलायां यत्र हि प्रयोजनाभावनिश्चयस्तत्रैव....प्रयोगानुष्ठानमाह।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 865-6 of Sm.T.)

6. Vratatattva

Vr.T. pp. 155-6 = N.P. p. 66 —आलस्यादिपुरुषदोषेण.....'घाते न्यूने....यज्ञार्थसाधकाः' इत्युक्तेः.....मन्त्राः प्रयोक्तव्याः।
(Almost the same as the quot. on pp. 865-6 of Sm.T. and on p. 89 of E.T.)

7. Śuddhitattva

S.T. p. 305 = N.P. p. 210 —तथा च विद्याकरधृतम् 'यथा यज्ञोपवीतञ्च....शुभम्'।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 375 of A.T.)

p. 312 = pp. 139-40 —विद्याकरवाजपेयिनापि यज्ञोपवीतस्यैव....इत्युक्तम्।

p. 314 = p. 213 —'वामहस्ते.....दर्शयेत्' इति विद्याकरधृतवामहस्त इति सप्तम्यन्तश्रवणात्.....अभिधानाच्च।

pp. 374-5 = p. 66 —चरुविधौ विद्याकरवाजपेयी। शास्त्रावधारणवेलायां...प्रयोगानुष्ठानमित्याह।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 865-6 of Sm.T. and on p. 89 of E.T.)

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8. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. N.P.
p. 540 = p. 66

—अत्र विद्याकरवाजपेयी तु शास्त्रावधारणवेलायां . . . . . प्रयोगानुष्ठानमित्याह ।
(The same as the quot. just above.)

9. Śrīpuruṣottama-tattva

S.P.T. N.P.
p. 570 = p. 110

—अत्र च 'पिप्पल्याद. . . . परिकल्पय' इति मन्त्रेण पाषाण-प्रक्षेपः सदाचारसिद्ध इति विद्याकरः ।

10. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. N.P.
p. 622 = p. 66

—अत्र च आलस्यादिना . . . 'घाते न्यूने . . . यज्ञार्थसाधकाः' । इत्युक्तेः . . . मन्त्राः प्रयोक्तव्या इति ।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 155-6 of Vr.T. and partly the same as the quot. on pp. 865-6 of Sm.T.)

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D—South India

Mādhavācārya

Kālanirṇaya or Kālamādhavīya or Kālamādhava

1. Tithitattva

T.T. K.M.

p. 1 = pp. 98-9 —तत्र तिथिस्वरूपमाह हेमाद्रि-कालमाधवीययोः स्कान्दे प्रभास-खण्डम्। 'अमा....वरानने'। चन्द्रमण्डलस्य:.... ..कलास्तिथय इति।

p. 6 = p. 103 —तदाह कालमाधवीये वृद्धगार्ग्यः। 'निमित्तं कालमादाय ....कालमात्रमपेक्षते'।

p. 9 = pp. 149-50 —अत्र कालमाधवीयधृतेन 'षाण्मासिकाब्दिके...द्वादशेऽपि च'। इति पैठीनसिवचनैकवाक्यत्वात् एकाहन्यूनपदेन मृत-तिथिपूर्वतिथेर्ग्रहणम्।

pp. 16-7 = p. 153 —यथा कालमाधवीयधृतो व्यासः। 'कुतपप्रथमे....नियता-त्मवान्'।.....गौतमोऽपि 'आरभ्य कुतपे.....न लङ्घयेत्'।

pp. 18-19 = p. 88 —'मलमासमृतानाञ्च...कदाचन' इति कालमाधवीयधृत-पैठीनसिवचनैकवाक्यतया...न दोषः।

p. 25 = cf. p. 147 —कालमाधवीयोऽप्येवम्।

pp. 32-3 = p. 188 —अत्र 'पञ्चमी तु प्रकर्तव्या षष्ठ्या युक्ता तु नारद इति'... ब्रह्मवैवर्तवचनन्तु स्कन्दोपवासविषयकमिति माधवाचार्य्यः।

p. 33 = p. 186 —'चतुर्थी.....तथासिते' इति कालमाधवीयधृतहारीत-वचनात्।

p. 38 = cf. p. 241 —'चतस्रो.....संज्ञिते' इति कालमाधवीयधृतब्रह्म-वैवर्तीयेन।

p. 48 = p. 205 —माधवाचार्य्योऽप्येवम्।

p. 50 = pp. 223-4 —तथा च कालमाधवीये स्कन्दपुराण-ब्रह्मवैवर्तयोः। 'सप्तमी ....मुक्तिदा'।

p. 51 = p. 218 —तथा च माधवाचार्य्यधृतपराशरवचनम्। 'दिवा..... संयुताम्'।

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T.T. K.M.

pp. 87-8 = p. 104 —'आदित्योदयवेलाया . . . सा हि शुद्धा . . . . ह्ययं विधिः'। इति कालमाधवीयधृतनारदीयात् ('सा हि शुद्धा' सैव शुद्धा नान्येत्यर्थः।)

p. 89 = p. 194 —कालमाधवीये निगमः। 'शुक्लपक्षे . . . . . सनातनः'।

pp. 106-7 = p. 246 —तथा कालमाधवीये गारुडम्। 'आदित्योदयवेलायाम् . . . . कर्मफलेप्सुभिः'। (अत्रापि . . . . . इत्यवधेयम्।)

p. 110 = p. 268 —कालमाधवीयधृतस्कान्दे 'उपवासन्तु . . . . . पिबेत्'। मन्त्रमाह कात्यायनः। 'अष्टाक्षरेण . . . जलम्'।
(The 1st quotation not found in K.M.)

p. 120 = p. 104 —तथा च कालमाधवीये नारदीयम्। 'आदित्योदयवेलाया . . . . ह्ययं विधिः'। (अत्र पूर्वतिथेः शुद्धत्वाभिधानात् तत्परतिथेरशुद्धत्वाभिधानं प्रतीयते।)
(The same as the quot. on pp. 87-8 of T.T.)

p. 123 = p. 279 —कालमाधवीयोऽप्येवम्।

p. 141 = p. 340 —एतयोर्व्यवस्थामाह कालमाधवीये भविष्योत्तरम्। 'मिथुनात् . . . . . परेऽह्नि'।

p. 144 = p. 335 —कालमाधवीयेऽपि अह्नीत्यभिधाय प्राशस्त्यतारतम्यमुक्तम्।

p. 154 = p. 85 —(ग्रहणनिमित्तश्राद्धादि मलमासेऽपि कार्य्यं) . . . . . 'चन्द्रसूर्य्यग्रहे . . . . तथा'। इति कालमाधवीयधृतवचनाच्च।

p. 155 = p. 355 —माधवाचार्य्योऽपि ग्रस्तास्त . . . . . भवतीत्याह।

p. 161 = pp. 356-7 —कालमाधवीये भृगुः। 'ग्रस्तावेवा . . . . . नरः'।

p. 170 = p. 304 —अत्रैव विषये सान्निनिरग्न्योर्विशेषमाह कालमाधवीये जाबालिः। 'अपरार्द्धद्वयाव्यापी . . . . . कुहुर्मता'।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. K.M.

p. 255 = —अतएव पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृतकालमाधवीययोः कार्ष्णाजिनिः। 'नभस्य . . . चतुर्दशी'।

p. 267 = p. 153 —मध्याह्ने तु विशेषमाह कालमाधवीये व्यासः। 'कुतपप्रथमे . . . . नियतात्मवान्'। . . . . गोतमः। 'आरभ्य . . . . . न लङ्घयेत्' इति।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 16-7 of T.T.)

p. 271 = p. 304 —अत्रैव विषये सान्निनिरग्न्योर्विशेषमाह कालमाधवीये जाबालिः। 'अपरार्द्धद्वयाव्यापी . . . . कुहुर्मता'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 170 of T.T.)

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S.T. K.M.

p. 283 = p. 85 —सामान्यतो निषेधेऽपि मघाश्राद्धादेः प्रतिप्रसवमाह माधवाचार्य्यधृतो व्यासः। 'जात.....तथा'।
(K.M. and M.T., p. 789, cite the above as texts of Yama.)

p. 286 = p. 88 —'मलमास.....कदाचन' इति कालमाधवीयधृतपैठीनसिवचनस्य मलमासमृतविषयत्वाच्च।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 18-19 of T.T.)

p. 303 = p. 87 —पितृपक्षं विशेषयति हेमाद्रि-माधवाचार्य्यधृतं नागरखण्डम्। 'नभो.....पञ्चमः'।

p. 306 = pp. 157-8 —एवञ्च भविष्यपुराण-प्रभासखण्डयोः। 'मृताहनि.....नो हरिः'। मरीचिः। 'पतिताज्ञानिनो...चाण्डालेष्वभिजायते'। इत्याभ्यां कालमाधवीयधृताभ्यां वचनाभ्यां ....प्रतिनिधीयते।
(K.M. reads पण्डिता° for पतिता°।)

3. Malamāsatattva

M.T. K.M.

p. 740 = p. 317 —तथा....कालमाधवीयप्रभृतिदाक्षिणात्यवैदिकग्रन्थेषु गर्गः। 'प्रतिपद्यप्रविष्टायां.....योगवित्तमैः'।
(K.M. reads गार्ग्यः for गर्गः।)

pp. 756-7 = pp. 98-9 —तथा च हेमाद्रिकालमाधवीययोः स्कान्दे प्रभासखण्डम्। 'अमा.....वरानने'। चन्द्रमण्डलस्य..... कलास्तिथय इति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 1 of T.T.)

p. 758 = pp. 149-50 —'षाण्मासिकाब्दिके....द्वादशापि (द्वादशेऽपि?) च' इति हेमाद्रि-माधवाचार्य्यधृतपैठीनस्युक्तवचनस्य च विषये गौणमासपरिचायकः।
(The same as the quot. on p. 9 of T.T.)

p. 771 = p. 50 —अत्र सोमयोगे.....सावनमिति माधवाचार्य्यः।

p. 776 = p. 76 —कालमाधवीये जाबालिः। 'एकस्मिन्नपि....प्रकृतस्तत्र ....मलिम्लुचः'। प्रकृतः शुद्धः कर्माह इति यावत्।
(K.M. reads प्राकृतः for प्रकृतः in both the places.)

p. 781 = p. 72 —न च 'मेषादिस्थे.....अधिमासोऽन्त्यः' इति माधवाचार्य्यधृतज्योतिःशास्त्रोक्तलक्षणमादरणीयम्। (तथात्वे..... लोपः स्यात्।)

p. 782 = pp. 76-7 —तथा च बार्हस्पत्यज्योतिर्ग्रन्थे। 'एकत्र वर्षे..... निन्दितः'। अत्र संसर्गो.....सम्यक् सर्पतीति माधवाचार्य्यः।

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M.T. K.M.

p. 783 = p. 82 —तथा च कालमाधवीये काठकगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'महालया ....मले'।

p. 789 = p. 85 —जातकर्माद्यपि मलमासे कार्य्यम् 'जात.....तथा' हेमाद्रि-माधवाचार्य्यधृतयमवचनात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 283 of Sr.T.)

,, = p. 85 —स्मृतिः। 'श्राद्धजातकनामानि ये च संस्कारमाश्रिताः। मलिम्लुचेऽपि कर्तव्या काम्या इष्टीश्च वर्जयेत्'। संस्कार-माश्रिताः अन्नप्राशननिष्क्रमणादयः इति माधवाचार्य्यः।

p. 794 = —अभियुक्तानां मन्त्रोऽयमिति समाख्यानं मन्त्रलक्षणमिति माधवाचार्य्यः।

p. 799 = p. 124 —तथा च कालमाधवीये व्यासः। 'द्वितीयादिकयुग्मानां... ह्रासवृद्ध्यादिदेशना'॥.....फलातिशयार्थ इत्युक्तम्।

p. 804 = p. 157 —'रात्रौ....उभयोस्तथा' इति मदनपारिजाते (काल-माधवीये?) माधवाचार्य्यधृतशातातपवचनाच्च।

pp. 841-2 = p. 87 —हेमाद्रिकालमाधवीयसंग्रहयोर्नागरखण्डम्। 'आषाढ्याः ....पञ्चमः'।
(Partly the same as the quot. on p. 303 of Sr.T.)

p. 845 = —पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृतकालमाधवीययोरेतन्नचायमूलं कार्ष्णा-जिनिवचनम्। 'नभस्यस्यापरे.....चतुर्दशी'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 255 of Sr.T.)

pp. 855-6 = p. 88 —'मलमास.....कदाचन'। इति कालमाधवीयधृत-पैठीनसिवचनैकमूलत्वात्।
(The same as the quot. on pp. 18-19 of T.T. and on p. 286 of Sr.T.)

4. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. K.M.

p. 5 = p. 103 —कालमाधवीये वृद्धगर्गः। 'निमित्तं कालमादाय...काल-मात्रमपेक्षते'।
(K.M. reads गार्ग्यः for वृद्धगर्गः and the same as the quot. on p. 6 of T.T.)

p. 8 = p. 267 —तथा च कालमाधवीये वराहपुराणम्। 'गृहीत्वौडुम्बरं... वार्य्येव धारयेत्'। (यद्यपि व्रतं.....उपवासादिलक्षण-मित्यर्थः।)
(K.M. reads वाराह° and °दुम्बरं।)

p. 9 = —'अभुक्त्वा.....निश्चयः'।.....संख्या न विवक्षि-तेति माधवाचार्य्यः।

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E.T.	K.M.	
p. 18 = p. 271		—कालमाधवीये ब्रह्मवैवर्तः। 'इति विज्ञाय.....नात्र संशयः'।...'जह्याद्...भक्तचतुष्टयम्' इत्युक्तम्।
p. 23 = pp. 233–5		—विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। 'एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। ...विष्णुलोकाच्च्युतोभवेत्'॥ तथा। 'प्रतिग्रासं... मनाक्'॥.....अतएव माधवाचार्य्येणात्रैवोपवासे सर्वमुदाहृतम्।
p. 35 = pp. 256-7		—'अष्टाब्दादधिको मर्त्यो....यो मानवो....स पापकृत्' इति कालमाधवीयधृतनारदवचने (मर्त्यमानवपदयोः श्रवणात् मनुष्यमात्रस्याधिकारो न जात्याश्रमविचारः।)
p. 39 = p. 236		—कालमाधवीये नारदः। 'नित्यं.....उपोष्णम्'। अत्र....नित्यताप्रतीतेः।
p. 41 = p. 104		—तथा च कालमाधवीये नारदीयम्। 'आदित्योदयवेलाया ....ह्ययं विधिः'। (The same as the quot. on pp. 87-8 of T.T.)
p. 46 = p. 251		—'पक्षमार्गस्थिते सोमे कुर्वीत दशमीयुताम्' इति कालमाधवीय-पाठे व्यक्त एवार्थः। (K.M. reads क्षयमार्ग°।)
p. 47 =		—हेमाद्रिमाधवाचार्य्यप्रभृतिधृतवचनान्तरसंवादि-शिष्टाचार-परिगृहीतञ्च।
p. 48 = p. 246		—तथा कालमाधवीये गारुडम्। 'आदित्योदयवेलाया....धर्मफलेप्सुभिः'। (अत्रापि....इत्यवधेयम्।) (The same as the quot. on pp. 106-7 of T.T. with some diff. readings in the text of Garuḍa.)
p. 52 = p. 252		—पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृते भविष्योत्तरीयम्। 'अरुणोदयकाले ...सा विद्धैकादशी तत्र पापमूलमुपोषणम्'॥ भविष्य-पुराणीयमेतदिति माधवाचार्य्यः। (K.M. reads the second line of the verse quoted above as तत्र नैकादशी कार्य्या धर्मकर्मार्थनाशिनी।)
»	= p. 243	—'दशम्याः....दिवाकरः। तेन दुष्टं हरिदिनं तद्दत्त-मसुराय हि' इति स्मृतेः। अत्र 'दत्तं जम्भासुराय तु' इति माधवाचार्य्यैः पठति। (K.M. also reads स्पृष्टं for दुष्टं।)
pp. 52-3 = pp. 241–6		—कालमाधवीये माधवाचार्य्योऽपि ब्रह्मवैवर्तः...इत्यादिवचन-जातात्...वैष्णवैर्नोपोष्या इत्याह।
p. 54 = pp. 128-9		—कालमाधवीये 'यस्मिन् देशे....मुख्यत्व'मिति।....अकुर्वाणा इत्यर्थः।

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E.T. K.M.

p. 57 = p. 268 —(यथा स्कान्दे। 'रात्रिं . . . समाहितः। उपवासन्तु . . . . . पिबेत्'।) मन्त्रस्तु कात्यायनोक्तः कालमाधवीये 'अष्टाक्षरेण . . . जलम्'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 110 of T.T.)

p. 95 = pp. 263-4 —कालमाधवीये 'काम्ये . . . . . प्रतिनिधिं विदुः'। . . . . . प्रतिनिधिनापि कारयेत्।

5. Śuddhitattva

S.T. K.M.

p. 291 = p. 269 —कालमाधवीय-(धृत ?)-कूर्मपुराणम्। 'काम्योपवासे . . . विवर्जितम्'।

p. 342 = p. 103 —'निमित्तं कालमादाय वृत्तिर्विधिनिषेधयोः' इति कालमाधवीय-धृतवृद्धगार्ग्यवचनम्।
(Part of the quot. on p. 6 of T.T. and on p. 5 of E.T.)

p. 343 = pp. 85-6 —'रोगे चालभ्ययोगे . . . पूर्वत्रापि न दुष्यति' इति कालमाधवीये मरीचिना प्रतिप्रसवात्।

p. 344 = p. 84 —कालमाधवीयधृतकालादर्शवाक्यं . . . 'आश्रमस्वीकृतिः . . . निष्क्रमः'।

6. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. K.M.

p. 530 = p. 103 —'निमित्तं . . . . निषेधयोः' इति कालमाधवीयधृतवृद्धगार्ग्य-वचनम्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 342 of S.T. and a part of the quot. on p. 6 of T.T. and on p. 5 of E.T.)

T.T.
p. 19
p. 159
Sr.T.
p. 223
p. 278
p. 286
A.T.
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pp. 4
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E—West India

I. Vijñāneśvara

Mitākṣarā, a com. on the Yāj. Smṛti

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Mit.

p. 19 = I. 255 ——अत्रामावास्यायामिति गमनमाससम्बन्धिन्यां 'प्रवासवासरे ज्ञेयं तन्मासेन्दुक्षयेऽथवा' इति स्मरणादिति मिताक्षरा।

p. 159 = I. 146 ——'व्यहं....सूतके' इति मनुवचने (IV. 110) सामान्यतो निषेधात् एष व्यहानध्यायो ग्रस्तास्तविषय इति मिताक्षरा।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Mit.

p. 223 = I. 238 ——'गायत्रीं....त्रिकं जपेत्' इति मिताक्षराधृतपारस्कर-वचनात्।

p. 278 = III. 28 ——(कृतक्रियः ?) अशौचकालोत्तरं कृतस्नान इति मिताक्षरा।

p. 286 = I. 255 ——अत्रामा.....स्मरणादिति मिताक्षरा।
(The same as the quot. on p. 19 of T.T.)

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. Mit.

p. 334 = I. 18 ——पिबेदित्यत्रान्तर्जानु इत्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'अन्तर्जानु.... द्विजो नित्यमुपस्पृशेत्'।.....द्विजो न शूद्रादिरिति मिताक्षरा।

p. 335 = I. 21 ——मिताक्षरादयोऽप्येवम्।

p. 457 = II. 114 ——यथा गोतमः (2/1/39–42)। 'स्वामी..परिग्रहाधिगमेषु।.....वैश्यशूद्रयोः' इति। परिग्रहोऽनन्यपूर्वस्य जलतृण-काष्ठादेः स्वीकार इति मिताक्षरा।

p. 461 = I. 79 ——याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'षोडशर्तुर्निशा...वर्जयेत्'। स्त्रीणां षोडशनिशा...ब्रह्मचर्य्यस्खलनदोषो नास्तीति मिताक्षरा।

pp. 461-2 = III. 20 ——मिताक्षरा-मदनपारिजातयोः स्नानानन्तरं पुनरपि रजोदर्शने विशेषमाह हारीतः। 'रजस्वला...त्रिरात्रमशुचिर्भवेत्'।

p. 463 = I. 79 ——एवञ्च श्राद्धदिने यदभिगमनं प्रागुक्तयाज्ञवल्क्यवचनादुक्तं मिताक्षरायां तद्धेयम्।

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4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. pp. 469-70 = I. 18	Mit. —तथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'प्राग् वा . . . द्विजो नित्यमुपस्पृशेत्'। प्राक् प्राङ्मुख उपस्पृशेत् आचामेत् द्विजो न स्त्रीशूद्राविति मिताक्षरा। (The second half of the quot. from Yāj. I. 18 and a lengthier quot. from Mit. on the same—partly the same as the quot. on p. 334 of A.T.)
p. 470 =	—यथा वा काम्ययागनिष्पत्त्यर्थमनुष्ठितैराग्नेयादिभिर्नित्ययाग-सिद्धिरिति मिताक्षरोक्तम्। . . . . . (तथा . . . . सिद्धिः।)
p. 472 = III. 300	—यथा चरितव्रतविधौ याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'घटे . . . . गोभिः सत्कृतस्य हि सत्क्रिया'। . . . . गवां सत्कारश्च . . . . . नेत्यभिप्रेतमिति मिताक्षरा।
p. 473 = III. 220-21	—तथा च प्रायश्चित्तस्य नैमित्तिकत्वं निमित्तत्वञ्च मिताक्षरा-कृदाह। नैमित्तिकोऽयं . . . . प्राप्नुवन्ति इत्यन्तेन।
p. 481 = III. 320	—कल्पतरुमिताक्षरयोर्गोतमः। 'अथातः . . . त्र्यहमुपवसेत्' इति।
p. 504 = III. 6	—मिताक्षरायां स्मृतिः। 'आत्मनस्त्यागिनां . . . . संस्थापनं हितम्'।
p. 510 = III. 243	—यथा मिताक्षरायाम्। 'अर्वाक् . . . तुरीयन्तत्र योषिताम्'।
p. 512 = III. 301	—यथा मिताक्षरायां पराशरः। 'पापं . . . . वृषम्'।
p. 514 = III. 274	—द्रोण उक्तो मिताक्षरायाम्। 'अष्टमुष्टि . . . . मान-लक्षणम्'।
p. 516 = III. 326	—(विद्वद्विप्रादीनान्तु महापातकादिदोष एव मुण्डनम्।) 'विद्वद्विप्र . . . . श्चावकीर्णिनः'। इति मिताक्षराधृत-वचनात्।
„ = III. 263-4	—'वपनं नैव . . . . मुण्डनं स्मृतम्'। पराशरस्यैतदिति मिताक्षरा। (The 2nd verse is Par. II. 9. 54*b*–55*a*.)
p. 518 = III. 327	—यत्तु मिताक्षरायाम् 'गवामभावे निष्कः स्यात्तदर्द्धं पाद एव च' इति स्मरणान्निष्कादिकमुक्तम् (तच्छक्ततमाद्यपेक्षया)।
p. 523 = III. 326	—मन्त्राज्ञाने मिताक्षरायां षट्त्रिंशन्मतम्। 'जपहोमादि . . . प्रणवेन च'।
pp. 524-5 = III. 263-4	—मिताक्षरायान्तु गर्भिणीवधे . . . . . षट्त्रिंशन्मते विशेष उक्तः। 'पाद . . . . . गोघ्नस्य निष्कृतिः'।

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P.T.	Mit.
p. 525 = III. 263-4	—तयोर्गोवध....संवर्तापस्तम्बौ। 'एका चेद्..... पृथक्'।.....अतो बहुभिर्द्वयोर्बहूनाञ्च...कल्पनीयमिति मिताक्षरा।
p. 526 = III. 263-4	—एतच्चाकामतो वधे....समवायात्। 'एकं...द्विगुणो दमः'। इति प्रत्येकं दण्डद्वैगुण्यदर्शनाच्चेति मिताक्षरा।
p. 527 = III. 263-4	—एतद्विषय एव मिताक्षराधृतं संवर्तवचनम् इत्येकवाक्यत्वात्। तद् यथा। 'पादे....निपातने'।
p. 528 = III. 263-4	—बन्धने मिताक्षरायां विशेषमाह व्यासः। 'न नारिकेलैर्न ...दोषविवर्जिते'।
p. 535 = III. 263-4	—मिताक्षरायां पराशरः। 'कूपे खाते...प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते'। इदन्तु....इति ज्ञेयम्।
p. 538 = III. 309	—तथा च मिताक्षरायां गायत्रीमधिकृत्य शङ्खेनोक्तम्। 'शतं जप्त्वा.....महापातकनाशिनी'।
p. 539 = III. 227	—मिताक्षरायाम् 'आक्रोशादि.....तदा न दोषः'।
p. 540 = III. 254	—यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'चरेद्व्रतम्...समागतः'। अत्र... प्रायश्चित्तं मिताक्षरायामप्येवम्।
p. 543 = II. 114	—मिताक्षरायां यमः। 'योऽदत्तादायिनो...स्तेनस्तथैव सः'।
pp. 544-5 = III. 226	—पापस्य द्वे शक्ती...भावः। तथा च मिताक्षरायामापस्तम्बः (1/9/24/25)। 'नास्यास्मिन्...निहन्यते' इति।
p. 545 = III. 299	—एतेन यद्यपि....व्यवहारप्रतिषेध इति मिताक्षरोक्तं न युक्तिसहम् ('केवलं...स्वायम्भुवादयः'। इति बृहस्पतिवचनात्।)
p. 548 = III. 290	—यत्तु मिताक्षरायामापस्तम्बः। 'अन्त्यानां...विधिः'। चान्द्रं चान्द्रायणम्।
p. 554 = III. 290	—मिताक्षरायां स्मृतिः। 'काले...नाद्यादहर्निशम्'।

5. Jyotistattva

J.T.	Mit.
p. 683 =	—देवलः। 'सिन्धु.....मर्हति'। तीर्थयात्राव्यतिरेकेणेति द्रष्टव्यमिति मिताक्षरा।

6. Malamāsatattva

M.T.	Mit.
p. 748 = I. 37	—एवमेव.....मिताक्षरा...प्रभृतयः।

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M.T. Mit.

p. 791 = III. 293 —ब्राह्मण इत्यनुवृत्तौ मिताक्षरायां हारीतः। 'क्षत्रियस्याभिवादने.....त्रिरात्रमुपवसेत्' इति।

p. 800 = I. 260 —याज्ञवल्क्येनापि। 'यद्दाति.....तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः' इति। तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां..... तत्सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते इति मिताक्षरा।

p. 855 = III. 56-7 —मिताक्षरायान्तु ब्राह्मणाः प्रव्रजन्तीति...द्विजातिमात्रस्यावृत्तिरिति लिखितम्।

7. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. Mit.

p. 915 = III. 20 —मिताक्षरायां पितामहः। 'अशौचे..अशुद्धः पुनरेव सः'। (Mit. reads the above text as of Prajāpati and the last foot as पूर्वाशौचेन शुद्ध्यति।)

8. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. Mit.

p. 13 = I. 132 —अतएव मिताक्षरायां स्मृतिः। 'गुरुणापि....कुटिलं विना'।

p. 21 = III. 326 —मिताक्षरायां 'गात्राभ्यङ्गं....वलरागकृत्' इत्यनेनानुलेपेनरागकृन्निषेधाच्च।

p. 22 = I. 79 —याज्ञवल्क्यः। 'षोडशर्तुर्निशा स्त्रीणां.....वर्जयेत्'। स्त्रीणां....वर्जयेदिति मिताक्षरा। (अत्र श्राद्धवासरे यदभिगमनुक्तं तदयुक्तं कल्पतरुधृतवचनविरोधात्।) (Almost the same as the quotations on pp. 461 and 463 of A.T. taken together.)

pp. 85-6 = II. 114 —तथा च गोतमः। 'स्वामी....परिग्रहाधिगमेषु।.... वैश्यशूद्रयोः' इति। परिग्रहोऽनन्यपूर्वस्य जलतृणकाष्ठादेः स्वीकार इति मिताक्षरा। (The same as the quot. on p. 457 of A.T.)

9. Udvāhatattva

U.T. Mit.

p. 106 = I. 58 —अतएव 'ब्राह्मो.....शक्त्यलङ्कृता' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचने स ब्राह्माभिधानो विवाहो.....दीयते इति मिताक्षरा।

p. 111 = I. 53 —यद्यपि राजन्यविशां.....'पोरहित्यान् राजन्यविशां प्रवृणीतेति' आश्वलायन इति मिताक्षरा।

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U.T. Mit.

p. 121 = II. 143 ——जडो विकलान्तःकरणः.....यावदिति मिताक्षरा।

p. 150 = III. 265 ——विशेषयति मिताक्षरायां स्मृतिः। 'ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां... नेतराः'।

10. Dāyatattva

D.T. Mit.

p. 162 = I. 114 ——यत्तु मिताक्षरायाम् 'उत्पत्त्यैवार्थं...इत्याचार्य्याः' इति गौतमवचनं (तदपि ..... नान्यसम्बन्धीत्याचार्य्या मन्यन्ते।)

p. 167 = II. 114 ——'पितुः.....पैतृके' इति मिताक्षराधृतवचनमपि पितामहधनपरम्।

p. 174 = II. 120 ——कल्पतरु-मिताक्षरा-दीपकलिकासु कात्यायनः। 'परभक्तोपयोगेन.....तदुच्यते'।

p. 176 = II. 114 ——(वस्तुतस्तु ..... ग्रहणवत्त)-दुक्तं मिताक्षरायाम्। 'स्वग्राम...हिरण्योदकदानेन....मेदिनी' इति।

pp. 176-7 = II. 114 ——हिरण्योदकदानेनेति....स्थावरविक्रय इति विज्ञानेश्वरः।

p. 177 = II. 119-20 ——(भूमौ....शङ्खः। 'पूर्वनष्ठाञ्च....तुरीयकम्'। एतद्वचनं.....अलिखनादयुक्तमेवेति रत्नाकरः। तन्न) दायभागमिताक्षराप्रभृतिधृतत्वात्।

„ = II. 114 ——पूर्वपुरुषार्जितनष्टोद्धारे विशेषयति मिताक्षरायाम्। 'स्थावरं .....धर्मार्थे च विशेषतः'।

p. 194 = II. 142 ——(दायभागकारास्तु.....गृहीतव्यमित्याहुः।) मिताक्षरादयोऽप्येवम्।

p. 195 = II. 142 ——....मिताक्षरा....ग्रन्थेषु 'नान्योदर्य्यो धनं हरेदिति पाठदर्शनात् तदनुसारव्याख्यादर्शनाच्च।

p. 196 = II. 137-39 ——अतएव मिताक्षरायां पितामह....कारिण इत्युक्तम्।

11. Vyavahāratattva

Vy.T. Mit.

p. 204 = II. 6 ——मिताक्षरायान्तु भाषाप्रतिज्ञापक्ष इति नार्थान्तरमित्युक्तम्।

p. 221 = II. 22 ——मिताक्षरायां स्मृतिः। 'पूर्गश्रेणी....न च साक्षिणः'।

p. 224 = II. 22 ——मिताक्षरायां स्मृतिः। 'द्वारभार्ग.....न च साक्षणः'।

pp. 224-5 = ——यत्र वादिनौ..... न तु अन्यस्येत्यर्थे इति मिताक्षरा।

p. 232 = II. 31 ——उपाधिर्भयादिरिति विज्ञानेश्वरः।

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12. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Mit.

p. 236 = I. 86 —तथा च मिताक्षरायां....गोतमः। 'पृथक्चितिं.... गन्तुमर्हति'।

p. 248 = cf. III. 326 —यथा मिताक्षरायां 'मुण्डयेत् सर्वगात्राणि कक्षवक्षःशिखा-वर्जम्'। (Mit. reads °कुक्षिरोमशिखावर्जमिति।)

p. 253 = III. 20 —तथा च मिताक्षरायां परिशेषखण्डे प्रजापतिः। 'अशौचे ....पूर्वाशौचाद् विशुद्धति'।
(Mit. reads °पूर्वाशौचेन शुद्धति and almost the same as the quot. on p. 915 of Sm.T.)

p. 258 = III. 20 —तथा च....शुद्धिमाह मिताक्षरायाम् उशनाः। 'स्वल्पा-शौचस्य....शुद्धति' इति।

„ = III. 20 —'दशाहाभ्यन्तरे.....विधीयते' इति मिताक्षराधृतवृहन्मनु-वचनात्।

p. 260 = III. 20 —तथा मिताक्षरायां पारस्करः। 'गर्भे....सूतकं भवेत्'।

p. 262 = III. 79 —मिताक्षरायां गर्भधारणञ्च श्रमादिभिर्लिङ्गैरवगन्तव्यम्। तथा च श्रुतिः। 'सद्योगृहीतगर्भायाः....योन्याः' इति।

p. 266 = III. 20 —तथा च मिताक्षरायां वृहन्मनुः। 'दशाहाभ्यन्तरे.... विधीयते'।
(The same as the second quotation from Mit. on p. 258 of S.T.)

„ = III. 20 —(दशाहादिजननाशौचं) 'गर्भे यदि विपत्तिः स्यादि'ति मिता-क्षरोक्तप्रागुक्तेः।
(The same as the quot. on p. 260 of S.T.)

.. = III. 23 —'बालानामजातदन्तानां त्रिरात्रेण शुद्धि'रिति मिताक्षरा-धृतकाश्यपवचनेन।

pp. 271-2 = III. 23 —(यत्तु पैठीनसिवचनमकृतचूडानां त्रिरात्रमिति तद्.... मन्तव्यं) मिताक्षराप्येवम्।

p. 273 = III. 28 —तस्मात् सगुणानां....दशाहाद्यूर्द्धमिति...मिताक्षरा... द्युक्तं साधीयः।

p. 274 = III. 21 —तथा च मिताक्षरायां व्याघ्रपादः। 'तुल्यं...तस्मिन्नेवार्ति-कालजम्'।

p. 276 = III. 21 —यत्तु 'मासत्रये.....शुद्धति' इति मिताक्षरायां बृहन्मनु-वशिष्ठवचनाद्व्यवस्थेति तद्दाक्षिणात्यानाम्।

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S.T. Mit.

p. 276 = III. 21 —यत्तु मिताक्षरायां 'पितरौ...भवेत्' इति पैठीनस्युक्तं तत् कलिङ्गौढ्रादिदेशव्यवस्थितम् तेषां तथाचरणात्।

(Cf. p. 276 of S.T. एवमन्यानि तद्धृतवचनानि देशविशेष-विषयतया व्यवस्थेयानि।)

p. 278 = III. 17 —मिताक्षरायामङ्गिराः। 'अतिक्रान्ते.....कर्हिचित्'।

p. 280 = III. 24 —मिताक्षरारत्नाकरयोर्बृहन्मनुवचनञ्च। 'मातुले...यदि'।

p. 281 = II. 137-39 —स्वबान्धवाश्च मिताक्षरायाम्। 'आत्मपितुः....आत्म-बान्धवाः'।

p. 282 = III. 24 —मिताक्षरायां वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः। 'संस्थिते...भगवान्मनुः'।

p. 290 = III. 28 —तथा च मिताक्षरायां क्रतुः। 'पूर्वसङ्कल्पितं...दुष्यति' इति।

p. 293 = III. 30 —मिताक्षरायान्तु मनुवचनं द्विजात्यस्थिपरम् अन्यत्र तु वशिष्ठोक्तमित्युक्तम्।

p. 295 = III. 290 —मिताक्षरायां स्मृतिः। 'काले...नाद्यादहर्निशम्'। (The same as the quot. on p. 554 of P.T.)

p. 298 = III. 18 —एवमेव मिताक्षरा-दीपकलिके।

„ = III. 18 —न च शावाशौचपदम्....अशौचमात्रपरमिति मिताक्षरोक्तं युक्तमिति वाच्यम्। ('आदन्त.....परम्' इति याज्ञ-वल्क्यीयेन पौनरुक्त्यापत्तेः।)

p. 308 = III. 20 —मिताक्षरायां 'सूतिकायां.....विधिपूर्वकम्'।

p. 323 = I. 254 —पुत्राद्यसन्निधाने....कर्तव्यम् प्रागुक्ता'सगोत्रः सगोत्रो वे'ति वचनादिति प्रथमाध्याये मिताक्षरा।

p. 323 = —'ज्यैष्ठं गुणवयःकृतम्' इति मिताक्षराधृतदक्षवचनाच्च।

„ = I. 254 —अतएव 'नवश्राद्धं.....संविभक्तधनेष्वपि' इति मिता-क्षराधृतदक्षवचनेऽविशेषादेकेनैवेत्युक्तम्।

p. 332 = III. 3 —अतएव मिताक्षरायां प्रचेताः। 'दिने....समाप्यते'। प्रतिदिनम्.....समाप्यते इति।

„ = —तथा च प्रचेताः। 'गृहद्वारे....दीपञ्चोपलिप्ताया'मिति सद्यस्त्र्यहाशौचयोस्त्वगत्या....यद्यप्युक्तं...तन्न।

p. 337 = III. 28 —कृतक्रियोऽशौचकालोत्तरं कृतस्नान इति मिताक्षरा। (The same as the quot. on p. 278 of Sr.T.)

p. 347 = II. 178 —तथा च नारदः (7/1)। 'दत्त्वा.....। दत्ताप्रदानिकं नाम व्यवहारपदं हि तत्'।....दत्तस्याप्रदानं पुनर्हरणं यस्मिन् व्यवहारपदे तत्तथेति विज्ञानेश्वरः।

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S.T. Mit.

p. 361 = I. 215 —तथा च मनुः। 'अयाचिताहृतं....द्विषः'। एतद्वचनं याज्ञवल्क्यस्येति मिताक्षरा....माधवाचार्य्याः।

p. 372 = III. 28 —अतएव मिताक्षरायां विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु इत्यत्र यज्ञे वृषोत्सर्गादावित्युक्तम्।

p. 398 = I. 52 —यत्र तु विशेषवचनं नास्ति तत्र दशाहमिति मिताक्षरा.... मतमपास्तम्।

p. 400 = I. 252-3 —तथा च मिताक्षरा-विवादचिन्तामण्योर्बृहन्मनुः। 'सपिण्डता तु.....गोत्रमुच्यते'।

13. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. Mit.

p. 526 = II. 114 —तथा च गोतमः। 'स्वामी.....परिग्रहाधिगमेषु।.. ..वैश्यशूद्रयोः' इति। परिग्रहोऽनन्यपूर्वस्य जलतृणकाष्ठादेः स्वीकार इति मिताक्षरा।
(The same as the quot. on p. 457 of A.T. and on pp. 85-6 of E.T.)

14. Divyatattva

Div.T. Mit.

p. 576 = II. 97 —तत्र पितामहः। 'चैत्रो.....सार्वकालिकी'। इति मिताक्षरा।

pp. 577-9 = II. 98 —मिताक्षरा तु पुंस्त्रियोर्विवादे.....दिव्यानि देयानि। (अत्र च यस्य यानि.....न तु प्रशस्ततरादित्वमिति।)

p. 585 = II. 100–102 —'न तु धर्मायार्घ्यं प्रकल्पयामि नम' इति मिताक्षरोक्तं प्रमाणाभावादनन्वयाच्च।

„ = II. 100–102 —मिताक्षरायान्तु धर्मपूजन एव रक्तत्वनियमः।

„ = II. 100–102 —तेन प्रणवादिकां.....जुहुयादिति मिताक्षरा।

pp. 586-7 = II. 97 —'दिव्येषु सर्वकार्य्याणि.....सोपवासो नृपाज्ञया'। इति मिताक्षराधृतपितामहवचनात् (अध्वर्य्युर्यजमानमात्रं।)

pp. 590-91 = II. 100–102 —यदा चानुपलभ्यमानदृष्टकारणक....तुलाधारपट्ट इति मिताक्षरा।

p. 595 = II. 103 —'सप्त....न्यसेत्' इति मिताक्षराधृतवचनात्।

p. 596 = II. 104 —'शान्त्यर्थं....शतम्' इति मिताक्षराधृतात्।

„ = II. 104 —'ॐ अग्नये पावकाय स्वाहेति' मिताक्षरोक्तमन्त्रेण।

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Div.T. Mit.

p. 605 = II. 112 —संसूचक आस्तिक इति मिताक्षरा। . . . . .गोमयकृतमण्डलाभ्यन्तरे।
(Mit. reads सशूक for संसूचक।)

" = II. 113 —मिताक्षराप्येवम्।

" = II. 113 —यत्तु 'त्रिरात्रात्. . . . . उदाहृतः'। इति पितामहोक्तं . . . . . व्यवस्थापनीयमिति मिताक्षरा।

p. 610 = III. 326 —गायत्र्यादि-सामाज्ञाने तु सप्रणवव्याहृतिगायत्रीमात्रं पठितव्यम्। 'जपहोमादि. . . . . प्रणवेन च'। इति मिताक्षराधृतषट्त्रिंशन्मतवचनदर्शनादत्रापि तथा कल्प्यते।
(The same as the quot. on p. 523 of P.T.)

15. Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva

M.P.T. Mit.

p. 632 = III. 326 —आयुष्यमन्त्राज्ञाने तु गायत्रीजपः। 'जपहोमादि. . . . प्रणवेन च'। इति मिताक्षराधृतषट्त्रिंशन्मतदर्शनात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 523 of P.T. and on p. 610 of Div.T.)

16. Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇatattva

S.K.T. Mit.

p. 636 = —एवमेव मिताक्षरायां व्यक्तमुक्तं मरीचिना। 'स्त्रिया. . . चोभयोः' इति।

II. Śrīdhara

Smṛtyarthasāra

1. Durgotsavatattva (within Tithitattva)

Durgo.T. S.S.

p. 100 = p. 34 —स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातयोः। 'सन्निधौ. . . विना'।

2. Tithitattva

T.T. S.S.

p. 174 = p. 30 —'वसु. . . . . संयतः'। इति स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातधृतवचनमिति।

3. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. S.S.

p. 190 = p. 30 —व्यक्तं स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातयोः। 'वसु. . . संयतः'। इति।
(The same as the quot. on p. 174 of T.T.)

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4. Āhnikatattva

A.T. S.S.
p. 434 = —स्मृत्यर्थसारे। 'प्राणाहुतौ घृताभावे पश्चाद्भुञ्जीत नो घृतम्'।

5. Malamāsatattva

M.T. S.S.
p. 791 = p. 8 —स्मृत्यर्थसारे। 'स्त्रियो.....पत्युरेव ताः'...कनिष्ठा अपि नमस्याः।

6. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. S.S.
pp. 96-7 = pp. 38–41 —स्मृत्यर्थसारे। 'नाभावस्य प्रतिनिधिरभावान्तरमिष्यते'। ....'नापि.....हुत्वा कर्म समाचरेत्'।

7. Śuddhitattva

S.T. S.S.
p. 308 = p. 89 —'पुण्यग्भिरापोहिष्ठीयवामदेव्यादिभिरि'ति स्मृत्यर्थसारः। (S.T. reads °स्मृत्यर्थानुसारः and S.S. reads 'आपोहिष्ठीयवामदेव्यादिपुण्याभिर्ऋग्भि'रामन्त्र्य।)

8. Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsargatattva

Y.V.T. S.S.
pp. 642-3 = p. 34 —स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातयोः। 'सन्निधौ....विना'। (The same as the quot. on p. 100 of Durgo.T.)

III. Hemādri

Caturvargacintāmaṇi

1. Tithitattva

T.T. C.C.
p. 1 = III. 2. p. 9 —तत्र तिथिस्वरूपमाह हेमाद्रि-कालमाधवीययोः स्कान्दे प्रभासखण्डम्। 'अमा....वरानने'।

p. 11 = III. 2. p. 57 —छन्दोगपरिशिष्टेन साङ्गकरणाभिधानात् हेमाद्रिधृतम्। 'पूर्णे....मिष्यते'।

p. 16 = III. 2. p. 564 —एतन्नचायमूलं हेमाद्रिधृतदेवलवचनम्। 'एकोद्दिष्टे.... प्रयत्नतः'।

p. 18 = III. 2. p. 565 —यथा हेमाद्रिधृतं षट्त्रिंशन्मतम्। 'मासिके...विचक्षणैः'।

pp. 19-20 = III. 2. pp. 559–61 —तथा च हेमाद्रि.....**नव्यवर्धमान** धृतानि वचनानि। बृहस्पतिः 'न ज्ञायते..मृताहनि'।....प्रभासखण्डम्। 'मृतस्याहो....माघेऽथ मार्गके'।....केनाप्यज्ञाने।

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T.T. C.C.

p. 25 = III. 2. p. 54 = III. 1. p. 223 ——मानवृद्धावित्यत्र मासवृद्धाविति हेमाद्रिणा धृतम्।

p. 32 = III. 2. p. 758 ——प्रदोषशब्दोऽत्र प्रथमप्रहर इति हेमाद्रिः।

p. 39 = III. 2. p. 465 ——'पक्षान्तरेऽपि.....कारयेत्'। इति हेमाद्रिधृतादित्य-पुराणोक्तवत्।

p. 48 = III. 2. pp. 133-4 ——हेमाद्रिरपि यदा....फलातिशयः।....नार्द्धरात्रवाक्य-स्येत्यन्तेनाह।

p. 120 = III. 2. p. 706 ——'भोगाय क्रियते....न तु' इति हेमाद्रिधृतवचनेन।

p. 155 = III. 2. pp. 387–9 ——हेमाद्रिस्तु यावद्दर्शनगोचरस्तावत् पुण्यकालो...'सूर्य्यग्रहो .....कुत्रचित्'। इत्याह।

p. 160 = ——अष्टम्यादिषु विशेषमाह हेमाद्रि-धृतापस्तम्बः। 'उदये... विदुः।....न तन्मिश्रदिनान्तरे'।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. C.C.

p. 285 = III. 2. p. 565 ——यथा हेमाद्रिधृतं षट्त्रिंशन्मतम्। 'मासिके...विचक्षणैः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 18 of T.T.)

pp. 286-7 = III. 2. pp. 559-61 ——तथा च हेमाद्रि.....**नव्यवर्धमान**-धृतानि वचनानि। बृहस्पतिः 'न ज्ञायते.....केनाप्यज्ञाने। (The same as the quot. on pp. 19-20 of T.T.)

p. 287 = III. 2. p. 564 ——पतितैकादशाहादिश्राद्धानां....कर्तव्यतामाह हेमाद्रिधृतो देवलः। 'एकोद्दिष्टे.....प्रयत्नतः'। (The same as the quot. on p. 16 of T.T.)

p. 292 = III. 2. p. 57 ——छन्दोगपरिशिष्टेन साङ्गकरणाभिधानात् हेमाद्रिधृतम्। 'पूर्णे.....मिष्यते'। (The same as the quot. on p. 11 of T.T.)

p. 303 = III. 2. 49 ——पितृपक्षं विशेषयति हेमाद्रिमाधवाचार्य्यधृतं नागरखण्डम्। 'नभो.....पञ्चमः'।

p. 304 = III. 2. 490 ——तथा च हेमाद्रिधृतकात्यायनवचनम्। 'सपिण्डीकरणादूर्द्धं ...सदैव तु'।

3. Jyotistattva

J.T. C.C.

p. 678 = I. p. 897 ——अतएव हेमाद्रिकृतदानखण्डे...भगवद्वाक्यम्। 'सुवर्णदानं .....कमलोद्भव'।

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4. Malamāsatattva

M.T.	G.C.	
p. 749 =		—अत्रोदितानुदितहोमवद्विकल्पेनानुष्ठानमिति हेमाद्रिः ।
p. 755 = III. 2. p. 9		—तथा च हेमाद्रि-सारसंग्रहयोर्विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । 'त्रिंशांशक . . .त्यभिधीयते' । (= V.D. 1/72/11*b*–12*b*.)
pp. 756-7 = III. 2. p. 9		—तथा च हेमाद्रि-कालमाधवीययोः स्कान्दे प्रभासखण्डम् । 'अमा . . .वरानने' । (The same as the quot. on p. 1 of T.T.)
p. 758 = III. 2. pp. 532-3		—'षाण्मासिकाब्दिके . . .द्वादशापि (द्वादशेऽपि ?) च' इति हेमाद्रिमाधवाचार्य्यधृतपैठीनस्युक्तवचनस्य . . . . ।
p. 789 = III. 2. p. 52		—जातकर्माद्यपि मलमासे कार्य्यम् 'जातकर्मा . . . . .नैमित्तिकं तथा' । हेमाद्रिमाधवाचार्य्यधृतयमवचनात् । (Cf. notes on p. 54 of III. 2 of C.C.)
p. 790 = III. 2. p. 57		—(ननु मलमासे . . . .क्रियते इति चेन्न) 'पूर्ण . . . . . मिष्यते' इति हेमाद्रिधृतवचनात् । (The same as the quot. on p. 11 of T.T.)
p. 801 = III. 2. p. 590		—अतएव हेमाद्रि-**नव्यवर्धमान**-धृतशातातपवचनम् । 'पिण्ड-निर्वापरहितं . . . . .तथास्त्विति' । इति ।
p. 825 = III. 2. p. 689 (a slightly diff. reading)		—तत्रैव हेमाद्रिधृतमाण्डव्यवचनम् । 'श्रुतिवेध . . . . . विवाहस्तु' ।
p. 836 = I. p. 897		—अतएव हेमाद्रिकृतदानखण्डे . . .भगवद्वाक्यम् । 'सुवर्णदानं . . . .कमलोद्भव' । (The same as the quot. on p. 678 of J.T.)
pp. 841-2 = III. 2. p. 49 (also partly = III. 2. pp. 463-4)		—हेमाद्रि-कालमाधवीयसंग्रहयोर्नागरखण्डम् । 'आषाढ्या . . . पञ्चमः' । (Partly the same as the quot. on p. 303 of Sr.T.)
pp. 842-3 = III. 2. p. 490		—तथा हेमाद्रिधृतकात्यायनवचनम् । 'सपिण्डीकरणादूर्द्ध्वं . . . सदैव तु' । (The same as the quot. on p. 304 of Sr.T.)
pp. 848-9 = III. 2. p. 52		—एतेनापरेत्वेति कृत्वा . . .इति पठित्वा . . .हेमाद्रिणाभिहितं यत् तद्धेयम् ।

5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T.	C.C.	
pp. 5-6 =		—. . . . .हेमाद्रि . . . .धृतदेवीपुराणम् । 'अतीता . . . . . मुखेषु च' ।

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E.T. C.C.

p. 36 = III. 2. 155 = III. 2. p. 172 —हेमाद्रिधृताग्निपुराणवचनेन तयोरप्यधिकारावगमात्। 'गृहस्थो.....पक्षयोरुभयोरपि'।

p. 37 = III. 2. 187 —हेमाद्रिरपि.....गृहस्थस्याधिकारमित्याह।

" = III. 2. p. 155 =III. 2. p. 172 —अत्रोच्यते 'गृहस्थो.....पक्षयोरुभयोरपि' इति.... हेमाद्रिधृताग्निपुराणवचने...निषेधश्रुतेः। (The same as the quot. on p. 36 of E.T. with diff. comment.)

p. 38 = III. 2. pp. 189-90 —हेमाद्रिरपि 'केचित्तु....न नित्ये' इत्याह।

pp. 38-9 = III. 2. p. 181 —....हेमाद्रिधृत....'यथा शुक्ला....उच्यते'।

p. 44 = III. 2. pp. 241–3 —हेमाद्रिस्तु परिशेषखण्डे स्कान्दम्। 'एकादशी...गृहाश्रमे'...'एकादशी...विष्णुतत्परः' इत्याह।

p. 47 = III. 2. p. 239 —हेमाद्रि....धृत....शिष्टाचारपरिगृहीतञ्च।

pp. 51-2 = III. 2. pp. 238–259 —हेमाद्रिरपि....इति श्रवणादित्याह।

p. 54 = III. 2. p. 558 —शिष्टाचारप्रामाण्यमाह हेमाद्रिप्रबन्धे व्यासः। 'तर्को...स पन्थाः'।

p. 88 = III. 2. p. 198 —अतएव 'एकभक्तेन....विभो' इत्यादि स्कन्दपुराणादिवचनाद्....इति परिशेषखण्डे हेमाद्रिणा अप्युक्तम्।

p. 90 = III. 2. p. 198 —तथा समवेतार्थाय एकाहारादिपदं प्रयोज्यमिति हेमाद्रिणा उक्तमपि निरस्तम्।

6. Udvāhatattva

U.T. C.C.

pp. 112-3 = III. 2. pp. 666–8 —हेमाद्रि-पराशरभाष्ययोरादित्यपुराणम्। 'दीर्घकालं....वेदवद्भवेत्'। इति। (= Par. com. portion, vol. I, pp. 123–7)

p. 145 = I. p. 686 —यथा हेमाद्रिधृतम् ऋष्यशृङ्गवचनम्। 'वरगोत्रं.....चैवमेव हि'।

p. 146 = I. p. 81 —विवाहे दानान्तरमप्याह हेमाद्रिधृतं व्यासवचनं 'ग्रहणोद्वाह....न दुष्यति'। (C.C. reads the above quot. a bit differently and as a text of Vṛddhavasiṣṭha.)

p. 147 = —हेमाद्रिधृताग्निपुराणम्। 'अप्रजायान्तु...अवाप्स्यसि'।

7. Śuddhitattva

S.T. C.C.

pp. 273-4 = III. 2. pp. 666–8 —वस्तुतस्तु हेमाद्रिपराशरधृतादित्यपुराणेन वृत्तादिनिमित्ताशौचसङ्कोचश्च कलौ निरस्तः। 'कन्या.....बुधैः'। (Part. of the quot. on pp. 112-3 of U.T.)

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S.T. C.C.

pp. 339-40 = ——परिशेषखण्डे हेमाद्रिरपि वृषोत्सर्ग. . . . . प्रेतोपकारकत्वादित्याह।

p. 346 = I. p. 93 ——अतएव. . . प्रतिपत्तिमाह हेमाद्रिधृतधौम्यः। 'परोक्षे. . . बन्धुषु'।

,, = cf. I. p. 187 ——संप्रोक्षितं पात्रमुद्दिश्य त्यक्तमिति हेमाद्रिः।

p. 356 = I. p. 103 ——देवकीर्तनादित्यत्र देयकीर्तनात्. . . . . पाठः व्याख्यातश्च हेमाद्रिणा. . . . . दत्त्वेत्यर्थः।

IV. Allāḍanātha

Nirṇayāmṛta

1. Tithitattva

T.T. N.A.

p. 19 = pp. 178–9 (बृहस्पति verses only) ——तथा च हेमाद्रि-कालादर्श-निर्णयामृत-**नव्यवर्धमान**-धृतानि वचनानि।

,, = p. 179 ——कालादर्श-निर्णयामृतयोर्मार्गशिर इत्यत्र आषाढक इति पाठः।

p. 32 = ——प्रदोषशब्दोऽत्र. . . . रात्रिपर इति निर्णयामृतकृद् **भोजदेवः**।

p. 52 = ——निर्णयामृते तु प्रतिकुर्वीत पारणमिति पाठः।

p. 124 = ——अत्र निर्णयामृतधृतम्। 'ओलं. . . . . भूते तिथौ'।

p. 160 = ——यत्तु निर्णयामृतधृतम्। 'प्रतिपल्लेश. . . . गव्यघटं यथा'।

p. 187 = ——यथा पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृते। 'अमार्कपात. . . ग्रहैः समः'। . . . . तथा 'दिवैव. . . . कदाचन'।

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. N.A.

p. 255 = p. 185 of MS. ——अतएव पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृत-कालमाधवीययोः काष्णर्जिनिः। 'नभस्य. . . . . चतुर्दशी'।

p. 286 = pp. 178-9 (बृहस्पति verses only) ——तथा च हेमाद्रि-कालादर्श-निर्णयामृत-**नव्यवर्धमान**-धृतानि वचनानि।
(The same as the first quotation on p. 19 of T.T.)

pp. 286-7 = p. 179 ——कालादर्श-निर्णयामृतयोर्मार्गशिर इत्यत्राषाढक इति पाठः।
(The same as the second quotation on p. 19 of T.T.)

p. 324 = ——निर्णयामृते मत्स्यपुराणम्। 'अन्नप्राशे. . . . . प्रकीर्तितम्'।

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3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. N.A.

pp. 326-7 = —**भवदेवीय**-निर्णयामृते सुमन्तुः। 'रात्रेश्च....सम्प्रबोधने'।....'प्रातः....संज्ञकम्'।...'अहं.....स्वभाववान्'।...'लोकेश...तथा करोमि'।

4. Malamāsatattva

M.T. N.A.

p. 845 = p. 185 of MS. —पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृत-कालमाधवीययोरेतन्न्यायमूलं काष्णाजिनि वचनम्। 'नभस्य....चतुर्दशी'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 255 of Sr.T.)

p. 853 = cf. 193 of MS. —अतएव निर्णयामृते अन्नप्राशनाद्यर्थः सपिण्डीकरणापकर्ष इत्यभिहितम्।

5. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. N.A.

p. 29 = p. 86 = p. 49 of MS. —पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृते स्मृतिः। 'नाद्याद् भक्तद्वयं नित्ये काम्ये भक्तचतुष्टयम्'।...('शक्तिमांस्तु...सविशेषणम्'।)
(The MS. of N.A. reads जह्याद् for नाद्याद् and the printed edition reads the whole line as जह्याद्भुक्तद्वयं नित्ये काम्ये भुक्त्वा चतुष्टयम्।)

p. 52 = p. 102 —पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृते भविष्योत्तरीयम्। 'अरुणोदय....उपोषणम्'।

p. 243 = pp. 174-5 —पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृते स्मृतिः। 'एकचित्यां....पृथक्'।

6. Śuddhitattva

S.T. N.A.

p. 339 = p. 193 —निर्णयामृतेऽपि मासिकानां मृततिथौ विधानात् (त्रिपक्षश्राद्धमपि मृताहे कार्य्यम्।)

p. 340 = p. 212 —मलमासे वृषोत्सर्गनिषेधस्तु काम्य एव च न तु एकादशाहे क्रियमाणे इति पाश्चात्यनिर्णयामृतेऽपि।

7. Kṛtyatattva

K.T. N.A.

pp. 450-1 = —तत्र निर्णयामृतधृतवचनम्। 'ओलं....भूते तिथौ'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 124 of T.T.)

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F—North India

I. Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa

Kṛtyakalpataru

(i) Brahmacārikāṇḍa

1. Tithitattva

T.T. B.K.

p. 71 = pp. 25 and 208 —ब्रह्मचारिकाण्डे भविष्यपुराणम्। 'अष्टादशपुराणानि... ...मनीषिणः'।

p. 159 = p. 254 —'चैत्रश्रावण...नित्या' इति ब्रह्मचारिकाण्ड-धृत-हारीत-वचने.....शुक्लप्रतिपदः।

2. Jyotistattva

J.T. B.K.

p. 651 = p. 89 —'कुलदेवता.....कुलवृद्धः' इति कल्पतरुधृतशङ्खलिखित-वचने।

3. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. B.K.

p. 871 = p. 84 —गर्भपात्रयोरयं....स्त्रिया इति कल्पतरुः।

p. 930 = p. 106 —तथा च ब्रह्मचारिकाण्डे कल्पतरुधृतशङ्खलिखितौ। 'पयो... ...द्विजातीनाम्'।

4. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. B.K.

p. 30 = pp. 102–4 (corrupt text in B.K.) —कल्पतरुकृतापि ब्रह्मचारिकाण्डे पञ्चमादिषु....नित्याः काम्याश्च।

p. 31 = p. 84 —गर्भपात्रयोरयं.....स्त्रिया इति कल्पतरुः।
(The same as the quot. on p. 871 of Sm.T.)

5. Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva

C.V.T. B.K.

p. 545 = p. 84 —गर्भपात्रयोरयं.....स्त्रिया इति कल्पतरुः।
(The same as the quot. on p. 871 of Sm.T. and on p. 31 of E.T.)

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(ii) Gṛhasthakāṇḍa

1. Saṁskāratattva

Sm.T. G.K.
p. 890 = p. 69 —कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोर्गृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'कन्यां..... प्राङ्मुखाः'।

2. Udvāhatattva

U.T. G.K.
p. 138 = pp. 78-9 —ब्रह्मचारिणे अजातस्त्रीसम्पर्कायेति कल्पतरु-याज्ञवल्क्यदीपकलिके।

p. 143 = p. 69 —कल्पतरु-रत्नाकरयोर्गृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'कन्यां..... प्राङ्मुखाः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 890 of Sm.T.)

p. 149 = p. 5 —गृहस्थ.....अधिक्रियते इति यज्ञपार्श्व इति कल्पतरुः।

(iii) Dānakāṇḍa

1. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Dan.K.
pp. 247-8 = p. 12 —'ब्राह्मणस्य च यद्देयं....निक्षिपेत्'। इति दानकाण्ड-कल्पतरुधृतनारदवचनेन (ब्राह्मणदेयस्य ब्राह्मणाभावे जल-प्रक्षेपोक्तत्वाच्च।)

2. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Dan.K.
p. 346 = p. 12 —दानकल्पतरौ नारदः। 'ब्राह्मणस्य च यद्दत्तं..... निक्षिपेत्'। (अतएव श्राद्धीयान्नस्य पात्राभावे जले प्रक्षेपः।)
(The same as the quot. on pp. 247-8 of Sr.T.)

3. Jalāśayotsargatattva

J.L.T. Dan.K.
pp. 522-3 = pp. 287-8 —दानकल्पतरु-रत्नाकरयोर्वह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। 'अथातो... स्वस्ति वाचयतीति'।

(iv) Tīrthakāṇḍa

1. Śuddhitattva

S.T. T.K.
p. 284 = p. 264 —तीर्थकाण्डकल्पतरौ आदित्यपुराणञ्च। 'कीदृशैस्तु.... पुण्यकर्मिणः'। (एतच्च प्रमादवैधान्यतरकृतमरण-विषयम्।)

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2. Śrīpuruṣottama-tattva

S.P.T. T.K.

p. 563 = p. 235 —तीर्थकाण्डकल्पतरौ वामनपुराणम्। 'उपोष्य...सतिला देया माहेन्द्रं दक्षिणं ययौ'।
(T.K. reads षड्दिनान्येष for सतिला देया, which latter reading is wrong.)

(v) Niyatakālakāṇḍa

1. Tithitattva

T.T. N.K.

p. 27 = p. 358 —कल्पतरौ वामनपुराणम्। 'नन्दासु....समाचरेच्च'।

p. 28 = cf. p. 279 —तथा नालिका.....कल्पतरुः।

„ = p. 358 —कल्पतरौ। 'नाभ्यङ्गमर्के....सोत्तरासु'॥
(Diff. readings in N.K.)

p. 38 = p. 21 —अतएव कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोः। 'य इच्छेद्....माघ-फाल्गुनौ' इति विष्णुस्मृतौ।

p. 72 = pp. 473–76 —नैयतकालिककल्पतरौ भविष्यपुराणम्। 'इतिहासपुराणानि....वाचको नृप'।
(10 among 19 quoted lines found in N.K.)

p. 84 = p. 332 —अनिर्ग्राह्यमस्वीकार्य्यमिति कल्पतरुः।

p. 135 = pp. 411-2 —कल्पतरौ ब्रह्मपुराणम्। 'आश्वयुज्यां पौर्णमास्यां....क्रीडाः पृथग्विधाः'।
(T.T. omits the last but one line.)

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. N.K.

p. 225 = 290 —वशिष्ठः। 'अन्नं पर्य्युषितं....उपभुञ्जीतेति'। आमन्तण्डुलादि....भुञ्जीतेति नैयतकालिककल्पतरुणा व्याख्यातम्।

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. N.K.

p. 362 = p. 358 —कल्पतरौ। 'नाभ्यङ्गमर्के....सोत्तरासु'।
(The same as the 2nd quot. on p. 28 of T.T.)

p. 376 = p. 132 —अतएव मरीचिः। 'मुक्तहस्तञ्च दातव्यं न मुद्रां....मुक्तहस्तञ्च दक्षिणम्'।....मुद्रा....'मुक्तहस्तञ्च दक्षिणम्' इति दक्षिणहस्तं तिलरहितं कुर्य्यात् इति नैयतकालीन-कल्पतरुः।

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A.T. N.K.

p. 463 = p. 348 —श्राद्धानन्तरन्तु निषेधमाहतुः शङ्खलिखितौ। 'ऋतुस्नाता ...प्रजया तिष्ठति'। नोशब्दो निषेधः।...यतितव्यमिति कल्पतरुः।
(Diff. readings in N.K.)

4. Ekādaśītattva

E.T. N.K.

pp. 5-6 = pp. 360-1 —..... नैयतकालिककल्पतरु .... धृतदेवीपुराणम्। 'अतीता....मुखेषु च'। भोगो व्याप्तिः..... यावदिति कल्पतरुः।

p. 62 = pp. 56-7 —कल्पतरौ तु दक्षिणावर्त्ते विशेषमाह। 'दक्षिणावर्त्तशङ्खेन ....नश्यति'। औडुम्बरे ताम्रमये।

p. 93 = pp. 143-4 —अतएव हारीतः। 'अथ सूनां....पावयन्तीति'। एषामर्थः कल्पतरुकृता कृतः। सूदयन्ति...पावयन्तीत्यर्थः।

p. 101 = p. 391 —कल्पतरौ ब्रह्मपुराणम्। 'उपवासः....सर्वदा'।
(Diff. readings in N.K.)

p. 105 = p. 392 —कल्पतरुकृतस्तु 'एकादश्यामेव....प्रवृत्ते'रित्याहुः।
(Diff. readings in N.K.)

5. Śuddhitattva

S.T. N.K.

p. 312 = p. 80 —अतएव सांख्यायनगृह्यम्। 'सवस्त्रो...च्छादयेत्' इति। सवस्त्र इति....प्राप्तत्वादिति ब्रह्मदत्तभाष्यमिति कल्पतरुः।

(vi) Śrāddhakāṇḍa

1. Tithitattva

T.T. Sr.K.

p. 179 = p. 116 —कल्पतरौ देवलः। 'तथैवामन्त्रितो....सबान्धवः'।
(Sr.K. reads तथैव यन्त्रितो and च बान्धवैः.)

2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. Sr.K.

p. 207 = p. 140 —प्रदानार्थं....न नियोज्यमिति कल्पतरुः।
(Sr.K. reads प्रधानार्थं etc.)

p. 217 = p. 180 —तत्र हारीतः। 'काञ्चनेन तु पात्रेण...खड्गेनार्य्यकृतेन च'। औडुम्बरेण ताम्रेण....अभिमतमिति कल्पतरुः।

" = pp. 159-60 —कल्पतरौ। 'राजतं....शस्यते'।
(Sr.K. reads a bit differently.)

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Sr.T. Sr.K.

p. 222 = p. 167 —अन्नविधाम् अन्नप्रकारमिति कल्पतरुः। (Sr.K. reads अन्नविधिः etc.)

p. 231 = pp. 196-7 —कल्पतरौ मत्स्यपुराणम्। 'ब्रह्म . . . समुदीरयेत्'।

p. 297 = p. 267 —कल्पतरौ तु स्त्रीणामप्येवमिति . . . कर्त्तव्यमिति।

p. 306 = p. 266 —कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोस्तु स्वगोत्रायेति पठितं . . . व्याख्यातञ्च।

p. 317 = p. 275 —कल्पतरुस्तु विपरीतको देवतीर्थादिदानेनेत्याह तदयुक्तम्।

3. Śuddhitattva

S.T. Sr.K.

p. 392 = p. 265 —आदाहेति . . . . पुत्रिकापुत्रविषयमिति कल्पतरुः।

p. 393 = p. 267 —कल्पतरौ तु स्त्रीणामपि एवमिति . . . . कर्त्तव्यमिति। (The same as the quot. on p. 297 of Sr.T.)

p. 395 = p. 266 —कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयोस्तु स्वगोत्रायेति पठितं . . . व्याख्यातञ्च। (The same as the quot. on p. 306 of Sr.T.)

II. Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa

Madanapārijāta

1. Tithitattva

T.T. M.P.

p. 17 = p. 185 —अतएव मदनपारिजाते लोकाक्षिः। 'गणिताज् . . . . लक्षकोटयः'।

p. 90 = p. 127 —'नाग्निब्राह्मणयोरन्तरा . . . . तु व्यपेयात्' इति मदनपारिजातधृतवशिष्ठवचनात्।

p. 100 = pp. 177-8 —स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातयोः। 'सन्निधौ यजमानः . . . . कुर्वीतानुज्ञया विना'।

p. 103 = —क्षुते च मदनपारिजातधृतम्। 'जीवेति क्षुवतो . . . अन्यथा ब्रह्महा भवेत्'।

p. 147 = p. 265 —मदनपारिजातधृतविष्णुवचनम्। 'दर्शं वा . . . दिवाकरे'।

p. 153 = pp. 251-2 —अत्र विशेषो मदनपारिजाते निगमः। 'न दुष्येत्तीरवासिनामिति'। . . . 'अभावे . . . दुष्यति'।

p. 174 = p. 293 —'वसुरुद्रादित्यरूपान् . . . . तिलैस्तीर्थेषु संयतः' इति स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातधृतवचनमिति।

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2. Śrāddhatattva

Sr.T. M.P.

p. 190 = p. 293 —व्यक्तं स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातयोः । 'वसु..... संयतः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 174 of T.T.)

p. 268 = p. 185 —अतएव मदनपारिजाते लोकाक्षिः । 'गणिताज्....लक्ष-कोट्यः'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 17 of T.T.)

3. Āhnikatattva

A.T. M.P.

p. 326 = p. 41 —शेषार्द्धप्रहरे ब्राह्म्यो मुहूर्त इति मदनपारिजातात्।

p. 336 = —मदनपारिजाते हारीतः । 'ग्रन्थिर्यस्य पवित्रस्य न तेनाच-मनञ्चरेत्'।

p. 339 = p. 54 —शेषा आचमनावशिष्टाः इति मदनपारिजातः ।

p. 364 = p. 275 —मदनपारिजाते पारस्करः । 'एकञ्चेद्वासो..... प्रच्छादयतीति'।

p. 367 = pp. 251-2 —अत्र विशेषो मदनपारिजाते निगमः । 'न दुष्येत्तीर-वासिनामिति'।....'अभावे...दुष्यति'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 153 of T.T.)

p. 376 = p. 287 —जलतर्पणे रोमरहितप्रदेशे वामबाहौ.....स्थापयित्वा तर्पयेदिति मदनपारिजातः।

,, = p. 286 —अत्र शेषार्द्धं मदनपारिजाते लिखितम् 'अन्यथा वामहस्तेन तत-स्तर्पणमाचरेदि'ति।

p. 377 = p. 295 —'तीर्थे तिथिविशेषे च....तिलमिश्रितम्'। इति मदन-पारिजात....धृतमरीचिवचनात्।

p. 384 = p. 65 —मदनपारिजाते संवर्तः । 'नत्वा तु.....वामकरे स्थितैः'।

p. 390 = p. 81 —मदनपारिजातेऽपि । 'मध्यमाया....निष्फलं भवेत्'।

p. 419 = p. 316 —यत्तु मदनपारिजाते 'धर्मवित्....न चाचरेत्' इति.... निषेधयति।

p. 421 = p. 314 —'उत्तानेन.....जुहुयाद्धविः'। एतद्वचनं परिशिष्ट-स्येति पराशर-मदनपारिजातयोः।

p. 422 = p. 317 —आचारमाधवीय-मदनपारिजातयोरनग्निकस्य विशेषमाह वशिष्ठः । 'अनग्निकस्तु.....हरेत्'।

pp. 461-2 = p. 348 —मिताक्षरा-मदनपारिजातयोः स्नानानन्तरं पुनरपि रजोदर्शने विशेषमाह हारीतः । 'रजस्वला.....त्रिरात्रमशुचि-र्भवेत्'।....एवमुत्तरत्रापि।

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4. Prāyaścittatattva

P.T. M.P.
p. 492 = p. 248 —मदनपारिजाते मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्। 'मातरं..... लभेत सः'।

5. Jyotistattva

J.T. M.P.
p. 656 = —मदनपारिजाते। 'विद्यारम्भे.....बुधसोमयोः'।

6. Malamāsatattva

M.T. M.P.
p. 804 = —'रात्रौ श्राद्धं....रुभयोस्तथा'। इति मदनपारिजाते...वचनाच्च।

p. 814 = p. 127 —'नाग्निब्राह्मणयोरन्तरे.....तु व्यपेयात्' इति मदनपारिजातधृतवशिष्ठवचनात्।
(The same as the quot. on p. 90 of T.T.)

7. Udvāhatattva

U.T. M.P.
p. 112 = —आचारमाधवीय-मदनपारिजातयोरापस्तम्बः। 'समान...हीयते'।

p. 140 = p. 214 —अतएव मदनपारिजाते भरद्वाजः। 'साधारणं...त्रिविधं धनम्'।

8. Dāyatattva

D.T. M.P.
pp. 174-5 = —पुनः कात्यायनः।.....एवमेव दायभाग-मदनपारिजातादयः।

p. 190 = p. 203 —मदनपारिजातधृता स्मृतिः। 'यद्यदिष्टतमं....पतिप्रीणनकाम्यया'।

9. Śuddhitattva

S.T. M.P.
p. 235 = p. 202 —स्मृतिः। 'एकाहारः.....तर्पणं प्रत्यहं कार्य्यं भर्तुस्तिलकुशोदकैः'। एतत्तु तर्पणं पुत्रपौत्राद्यभावविषयमिति मदनपारिजातः।

p. 236 = p. 197 —यथोशनाः। 'पृथक् चितिं.....परः स्मृतः'। मदनपारिजातोऽप्येवम्।

p. 314 = p. 295 —व्यक्तमाह मदनपारिजातधृता स्मृतिः। 'अयने....तिलतर्पणे'....'तीर्थे....सर्वदा'।

10. Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsargatattva

Y.V.T. M.P.
pp. 642-3 = pp. 177-8 —स्मृत्यर्थसार-मदनपारिजातयोः। 'सन्निधौ....विना'।
(The same as the quot. on p. 100 of T.T.)

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE LATTER HALF OF THE *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA*

By Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya

(Communicated by Rakhahari Chatterjee)

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At the outset it will be useful to take a bird's-eye view of the genesis and presentation of this issue in the course of the last 125 years. In Vikramsamvat 1884, Principal J. H. Marshall, then of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, whom the late Premchand Tarkavagisa in a verse of his characterized as *dhṛtavrata*[1] (steady and conscientious) had a MS. brought to him of the entire *KS.* in 17 cantos. It has got to be admitted that scholarly opinion was divided (at that time and before) on the genuineness of the latter half, though MSS. thereof were not entirely wanting. A. F. Stenzler edited the work at the inspiration of Indian scholars in 1837 in seven cantos. The MS. brought to Prof. Marshall for some years after was in possession of Pandit Isvaracandra Vidyasagara whose view on the question was clear and decisive as we shall note later. The MS. was taken over to Kasi and the Kasi Vidyasudhanidhi Society had it collated with certain Benaras MSS., one of which was a dilapidated MS. (*atijīrṇa-mūlapustaka*) and published in their organ, which was incorporated with the old series of the *Pandit*, Vols. 2–9, 1866. It was published in instalments under the supervision of Vitthala Sastrin, a noted professor of Benaras Sanskrit College. Before this, Pandit Taranatha Tarkavacaspati, the illustrious compiler of the dictionary known as *Vācaspatya*, had published from the Samvādajñānākara Press the *KS.* in book-form in 1862, with the cantos 8 to 17 as an appendix. A keen controversy followed, which may be read in the pages of the *Pandit*,[1] in which Vitthala Sastrin himself and two scholars, of which one was Ramanarayana Sastrin of Benaras Sanskrit College and another a Gauḍa (*gauḍenopanyastaṁ*) Ramanarayana (was it Pandit Ramanarayana Tarkaratna?) who was for some time a Pandit in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and was one of the renowned early Bengali dramatists of the last century, crossed swords, and, before there could be an accepted solution of the issue, Vitthala Sastrin died in March, 1867. Only in January, 1867, he wrote a vindication of his position which was published in the *Pandit*, along with other criticisms and letters on the point. About ten years after this question was relegated to the care of Indologists and historians of Sanskrit literature, most of whom taking advantage of the doubtful ascription to Kālidāsa by orthodox scholars—which was at the basis, e.g. of Weber's[2] vacillation in the matter—raised grave doubts and pronounced their verdict accordingly.

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[1] च्युतदले कमले जडताऽऽकुले व्रजति मारुशले च धृतव्रते। विधिवशादधुना मधुनाऽऽहतो रसमयः समयः समुपागतः॥ Vide *Pandit*, Vols. I and II for text; Vols. II and III for criticism and correspondence on the subject.

[2] A. Weber, *H.I.L.* (Eng. Trans., p. 195) but *contra* in *ZDMG.*, XXVII, pp. 179, 190.

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The generally held view, including that held in India—and Indian opinion up till quite recent times, has been 'a child of westernism', to use an apt expression of a recent writer—is what has come out of the findings of Prof. Hermann Jacobi[1] who after reviewing in his own way the position of Sankar Pandit, the renowned Bombay scholar, on the issue, as stated in the latter's introduction to the *Raghuvaṁśa* (*BSS.*, 1874) and in his paper in the London Congress of Orientalists (1872)—according to which the work (*KS.*) is held to comprise 22 cantos—came to the conclusion that the *KS.* of Kālidāsa has eight cantos and not seven, as was generally believed then and as the first European edition of Stenzler seemed to indicate. The general and extra-technical objections adduced by Jacobi to Cantos IX–XVII related to (I) the title[2] of the epic which he, along with others, argues, can by no stretch of imagination include the Tārakavadha episode, (II) the lack of auspicious or benedictory verses at the end, a feature which it has in common with the *RV.*, (III) the non-uniform length of the cantos in direct variance from that of the former half of the epic, (IV) the unskilful use of figures like the *arthāntaranyāsa* and *yamaka*, (V) the grammatical and idiomatic flaws (corresponding to *vipluta*[5] in the nomenclature of the old theorists) and stylistic aberrations (*ākula* in their technology),[3] (VI) the indulgence in repetitions and nauseating prolixity[4] (the *ekārthatā* and *gatārthatā*) as evidences of the lack of workmanship. We hold that there can be no fitter title to the poem and that the end in canto VIII is not merely inapt and awkward, but at the same time touches not the very fringe of the plot. The point in objection (II) is unwarranted, in no way supported by traditional evidence. Objection (III) is shaky—the examples of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and of later poems, like the *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda, as also the direct statements of theorists to the contrary, serve to disprove it. As to (IV) it is conceded that there are a few verses[5] where the *arthāntaranyāsa*—a favourite figure with the poet—appears as almost out of place; but examples may be adduced from other works of the poet where there is the same disability. The poet makes a sparse use of the *yamaka* in the *KS.* and is not at all earnest in its exploitation, as in his later performance in the *RV.* (V) is a wild accusation, not supported by facts,[6] when one thinks of his faults in other works of his and what presumably theorists like Vāmana found fault with in such works.

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[1] H. Jacobi, *Das Epen Kalidassas, Verhandlungen des 5 internationalen Orientalisten Congresses.* Berlin, 1881, *Teil* 2. Halfte. Berlin, 1882, pp. 133–156.

[2] Cf. *Vakr. Jīv.*, IV, 24 (p. 243) काव्ये कामपि वक्रताम्। प्रधानसंविधानाङ्गनामापि कुरुते कविः।..न पुनर्हयग्रीववधशिशुपालवध .... रामचरितप्रायाणि॥ This rests on the view that the union of Śiva and Pārvatī is the main (*pradhāna*) theme in the *KS.* and may be taken to be a rejoinder in anticipation of the dictum कवेर्वृत्तस्य वा नाम्ना... (S.D., VI). *Saundarānanda* and *Kirātārjunīya* are apt titles according to this view of Kuntaka.

[3] Bhāmaha's *K.A.*, I. 36, III. 53, V. 61, 67 (... बन्धपूरणमाकुलम्...); VI. 62, 63.

[4] Bhāmaha's *K.A.*, III. 153; Vāmana's *K.A.S.V.*, V. 1. 1. 5; V. 2. 2; 2, 3, 5; Rudraṭa's *K.A.*, VI. 13, 32, 45 (vide Namisādhu's strictures in his gloss on the last passage in respect to the *Kir.*, a work mooted in orthodox parlance as the standard *sargabandha* for its weighty expression).

[5] e.g. XII. 22; XV. 51, *contra* as in IX. 2; X. 9; XII. 40. Refs. are to the N.S. edn. (1923).

[6] Nothing irregular, e.g. in X. 10; XII. 3, 40. In interpolated verses (e.g. XII. 36, 37; XV. 8). Defective readings responsible, e.g. in IX. 7; X. 12; XI. 13; XII. 8, (चण्डिभृङ्गि... for नन्दिभृङ्गि...); XII. 34 (क्षताङ्गलोकान्... for क्षतव्यलीकान्... cf. *RV.*, IV. 87).

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(VI) is based on the assumption that the poet has to be of the same level of suggestive excellence in all his poetic endeavours—a theory disproved in all ages and climes. As to the charge of prolixity we shall have to meet it later.

Now to turn to the alleged irregularities and licences in the metrical material of these cantos. These charges are arbitrarily framed and derive no sanction from the body of the formulation of the Chandasśastra[1] and the practice of early poets including Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa himself as well. Jacobi's insistence on the (I) requirements of the cæsura at the end of a hemistich (*pāda*) whether in *anuṣṭubh*, *upajāti* or longer metres like *mālinī*, his view that it should terminate by the end of a word or the end of a part of a compound and in the case of *sandhi*-formations—what he calls a strong cæsura—is a tall demand and is belied by the practice of Kālidāsa himself[1] in his accredited works. It is painful to read that a scholar of his calibre tried to vindicate his position in the manner he had done. Alankāra writers, from the days of Vāmana[2] at least, have found fault with the practice of counting as long syllables the last short syllable of an odd *pāda* less than 14 in length, though Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, in their *upajāti* verses, indulge in such and they are followed by other eminent epic poets. Jacobi does not raise this point; and the practice in the latter half of the *KS.* is no exception to the poet's general procedure. Jacobi thinks that (II) the *anuṣṭubh* scheme of the portion of the *KS.* under review errs on the side of strictness and slavish compliance. He regards the lack of licence in this part as a criterion of its lateness and a 'sign of monotony'. The poet's practice in his accredited works has been far from uniform.[3] Moreover there are instances in which there is a jarring effect produced on the trained ear; but no traditional formula or established code in *kāvyas* as different from *Purāṇas* can support his contention. Again it has got to be remembered that the readings in the printed text—we mean selected readings—are often defective. In cases where no optional readings are shown the words may appear inapt or inaccurate because of the rather volatile character of the MSS. material, as the text has not been properly preserved and studied. (III) The mixture of an *upajāti pāda* with a *vaṁśastha* or a *vaṅśastha* with an *indravaṁśa pāda* over which he is so much

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[1] *Kavyādar.*, III. 152, 153, 155; Jayakīrti's *Chandonuśāsana*, I. 10–13; *Ch. Manj.*, I. 20. Cæsura, e.g. in *Saundarā.*, IV. 7^d etc.; in *RS.*, I. 24^c, II. 25^b, III. 10^c, etc.; in *KS.* (former half) I. 16^c, VIII. 91^d (ज्वलन इव समुद्रा'न्तर्गतः); *Mal. Ag.*, III. 12^a, III. 17^b (नवाम्बुरुहकोमले'न चरणेन सम्भावितः); *Md. Pur.*, 19^c, 21^c, 23^a, 26^c; *Md. Uttar.*, 7^c (लतासंरोधा'पगम) (पाण्डुच्छायो'पवन) (गण्डस्वेदा'पनयन), 29^c (. . . नखे'नासकृत्- सारयन्तीं); *RV.*, II. 17^a, XI. 22^c, XIV. 40^c (मल्लके'नारोपिता..), XVIII. 52^c; *Abh. Śak.*, II. 5^a, III. 23^c (मि'त्यासज्जमाने'क्षणो), VI. 26^d, VII. II^b (. . . वल्लये'नात्यर्थ..), VII. 34^d (नयतसुभयलोकानुग्रह . . .) (*Abh. S.* refs. are to Pandit Isvarachandra Vidyasagara's edn. (1889)). Some of these are very bad lapses. *Kāv. Pr.*, VIII. (अमृतमसृण..) is not decisive and definite. Vāmana in *K.A.S.V.*, III. 2. 10, regards the self-same verse as perfectly in order, illustrating माधुर्य्य.

[2] *K.A.S.V.* (V. 1. 3) and Harṣaṭa in his gloss on *Jayadeva-Chandas*, I. 4 (वाग्रूढो व्यवस्थितविकल्पज्ञानार्थः। क्वचित्तु भवत्येव यथा वसन्ततिलकादेः) and *Sāh. Dar.*, VII.

[3] *KS.* (earlier half) has 15 such in 157 verses (in two cantos), roughly one in ten; in the latter half it is 4 in 107 (in two cantos), roughly one in twenty-seven; in *RV.* it is 22 in 353 (in six cantos), roughly one in sixteen; in *Vik.* it is 3 in 25, i.e. one in eight; in the *Māl. Ag.* it is 1 in 14; while in *Abh. Śak.*, the poet's maturest work, it is 1 in 31. *Nātyaśās.*, XV. 161–174 (G.O.S. edn.) and *Jayadeva-Chandas* (V. 6–15) provide practically for all regular *anuṣṭubh* verses.

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worried [1] is not a rare thing in early literature and we have such in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the works of Aśvaghoṣa and in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. (IV) The objection to long metres, i.e. of more than 15 syllables, is purely of his own making and is invalidated by Kālidāsa's utilization of such in his *RV*. We have none of such things in the *KS*. (former half) and only one in the *RS*. (in *śārdulavikrīḍita*); in the second half there are only five (of which three are in *hariṇī*, one in *mandākrāntā*, one in *śārdulavikrīḍita*); while in the *RV*. we have nine such, of which seven are in *mandākrāntā*, one in *hariṇī* and one in *suvadanā* (*nārāca*, *mahāmālikā*).

The same remarks apply to his condemnation of (I) rhymes,[2] (II) jingles, (III) or of rhymed parts in a *pāda* or in a verse [3] divided according to pause requirements (*suvihitapadabhañga*). That this artifice is an old one (Aśvaghoṣa has a fancy for it) and has been much in favour, is proved by its application even in prose composition, e.g. in the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.C.) written professedly in the form of a *kāvya*. (IV) Attempts at *yamaka* appear to merge themselves in rhyming verses in a few cases. Now *yamakas*, according to poetic convention, have been a very old and fashionable figure. Though rhymes became very common in the mediaeval age, we cannot regard their occasional use as thereby betraying late origin and as 'modern poesy'. It is often forgotten that Kālidāsa especially in his epic poems has a knack of producing verbal charms even at the risk of the word-texture being regarded as merely ornamental flourish. While these are rather common in his maiden attempts in the *RS*. and in the *KS*. (e.g. X. 30, 36; XIII. 51; XIV. 3, 16) it would be hazardous to maintain that he looks askance at this habit of his, for they appear now and then in his other works [4] and are not unoften artificial.

Jacobi is very harsh on the poet of the latter half for his faults of omission and commission in the matter of vocabulary. Here very often he is on surer foundations, though in their discussion he evinces a partisan spirit. (I) The rather profuse use of *pra*, *pari*, *vi*, *su*, *vara* and of *-tarām*, *-śas*, *-pālī*, *-kalāpa*, *-pāśa* serving respectively as prefixes and suffixes in unfamiliar forms and of verbal derivatives from *bhṛ* (*bhari*, *-bhṛt*) and *mud*, and (II) of words like *sadyas*, *prasabham*, *nitānta*, *abhitas*, *ghana*, *bhṛśam*, *alam*, *pramada*, *sapadi*, *samantāt* and of words, repeated in the same form in consecutive verses even, lapses more common in the *RS*. than in the *KS*. and not rare in the *RV*. (VIII. 41; IX. 58; XIII. 7; V. 36, 37, 39, 50, 52; XI. 47, 48) cannot but exasperate the reader. But this is hardly a convincing proof of their being not of Kālidāsa; for the strictures of early poeticists like Bhāmaha and Vāmana lose their force on such a contention.[5] (III) Pleonasms [6] like *bhūmnā bhūri*, *dhūmra-dhūmita*, *kathamkathamcit*,

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[1] *Rām.*, II. 25. 54*d*; II. 27. 22*b*; III. 47. 50*c*; IV. 42, 57; *Mṛcchak.*, IV. 17*a*. For inter-mixture of *indravaṁśā* with *vaṁśasthā*, e.g. *Rām.*, II. 28. 23; II. 46. 33; III. 49. 37. (The *Rām.* refs. are to the Vangavasi edn.) Noted under *Vṛttaratnākara* III इत्थं किलान्यास्वपि मित्रितासु वदन्ति जातिष्विदमेव नाम.

[2] Rhymes in Aśvaghoṣa, e.g. *Bu. Car.*, I. 14*ab*, 88*cd*; II. 2, 29; III. 1; IX. 73*ab*; in *RS.*, I. 4, 7, 14; II. 15; III. 14, 16; IV. 8, 9; VI. 11, 13; in *RV.*, II. 9, 27; III. 66; IV. 47, 48; VI. 23; XI. 16, 23; XIX. 17, 56.

[3] *RS.*, I. 4*b*, 7*cd*, 14*cd*; II. 13*abc*; III. 11*ab*, 14*abc*, 18*abc*; IV. 5; V. 19; VI. 9, 11; *RV.*, II. 9, 20; *Abh. Sak.*, I. 17; V. 6, 21; VI. 6; VII. 7, 35.

[4] *RV.*, I. 47, 48, 55, 59, 89, 93; II. 3, 30, 33, 64, 69; V. 3, 23; VI. 38; XVIII. 1–35; *Vik.*, IV. 21, 37, 46, 49; *Abh. Sak.*, I. 17; III. 24; VI. 1.

[5] Bhāmaha's *K.A.*, I. 36; III. 53; Vāmana's *K.A.S.V.*, V. 1. 1; V. 1. 5. V. 2. 35.

[6] *RS.*, II. 24; III. 26; IV. 1, 12; *RV.*, XV. 16 (धूमधूम्र); *Md. Pur.*, 37 (स्वनितमुखर). As for other early poets, cf. *Kir.*, XVI. 6, 26 (धूमधूम्र); Vatsabhaṭṭi's Mandasor inscription, V. 16 (तुल्योद्गमानानि); *Bṛhatsamhitā*, 27. 5*c* (प्रवरन्तवर), 27. 6*c* (प्रमुदितमुदित).

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bhūri bhūyasā and (IV) a fancy for prepositional-compounds[1] (*avyayībhāvas*), which may be regarded as a mannerism of some poets, are easily disposed of. (V) Rare words in the *KS.* like *ahamjuṣ*, *niruncana*, *paripinga*, *vipūra*—the last two already covered by (I)—and having their counterpart in other words elsewhere, *praveni RV.*, XV. 30; *paripārśva KS.*, V. 51 and *vikūjita RV.*, IX. 71; *vibhāta* (*RV.*, V. 69; *Abh. Śak.*, V. 19)—are explained partly by the hopeless nature of the MSS. material, as with perspicuity (*prasāda*) as the outstanding quality of the poet no less in evidence throughout the latter part, it is difficult to vindicate their use. Not that we have no rare words in what are regarded as genuine works of the poet.[2] No words, obscure or obscuring, what the Indian scholar would call as *kaṣṭa*, *neyārtha* and *nihatārtha*, appear and we have not many rare (*aprayukta*) forms as *divodhunī* (X. 5), *surasravantī* (XI. 24) and *nabhassravantī* (XV. 11). (VI) The charge of words being used as verse-fillers[3] is a lame one, when their list is scanned; for verse-fillers in the accepted sense like *ca*, *vai*, *tu*, *hi* and *khalu* are very rare and in some cases where they appear they are easy to justify and have their counterparts elsewhere in the poet. (VII) The charge against the less commonly known synonyms of Śiva and Kārttikeya (reminding one of *gūḍhārtha doṣa* noted by Bharata, *NS.*, XVI. 89) is unconvincing for the conclusion drawn therefrom.[4] Many of the words Jacobi picks up are epithets (*yaugika*) and not names (*rūdha*). When they are of the latter type one should not condemn them because they appear inappropriate. The poet's practice—and this has been the target of criticism by critics like Kṣemendra (under the head of *paryāyaanaucityā*) is not substantially different here and he has evinced this in the case of names of others like Indra, Gaurī and Kāma. In certain cases (e.g. IX. 23, 47, 50; XII. 47, 17; XVII. 7, 53) the epithets chosen, though cumbrous and roundabout, are highly suggestive. Moreover one is at a loss to understand what line of demarcation can be drawn between forms like *tārādhipakhaṇḍadhārin* (*KS.*, VII. 48) and *amṛtakaraśiromaṇi* (*KS.*, IX. 52) or between *cāmīkarīya* (*KS.*, XIII. 21) and *kadangarīya* (*RV.*, V. 9). except that the latter is more unfamiliar. The poet has a fancy for certain epithets and designations of Śiva, such as *smarāri*, *andhakāri* and *indumauli* and their equivalents which are germane from the point of plot-bearing, and carry associations harped on in the poem itself. In the light of the

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[1] e.g. *Md. Pūr.*, 50 (अनुकनखलं); *Md. Uttar.*, 8 (प्रत्यहम्, अन्तर्भवनं, बहिरुपवनम्); *RV.*, I. 44 (अनुपदं), III. 5 (अनुवेलं), IV. 34 (उपकण्ठम्), XIII. 35 (अनुगोदं°), XIII. 43 (प्राध्वम्), XV. 28 (उपकूलं), XV. 60 (उपशल्यम्); *Abh. Śak.*, I. 30 (प्रतिवातं), II. 3 (अधिज्यम्). Alankāra writers point out the suggestiveness of such forms. *Dhvanyā*, III. 16; *Vakr. Jīv.*, II. 19 अव्ययीभावमुख्यानां वृत्तीनां रमणीयता; *Kāv. Pr.*, V (in uses like उपपरिसरं ...).

[2] e.g. हैयङ्गवीन (I. 45); शार्ङ्गकूजित (IV. 62); कडङ्करीय (V. 9), which is certainly not more familiar than चामीकरीय (*KS.*, XIII. 21), to which Jacobi takes exception, दुर्निमित (VII. 10), कङ्कट (VII. 59), जलज (= शङ्ख VII. 63), आत्मदर्श (= आदर्श VII. 68), राघव (= अज: VIII. 10, 25; VII. 32), शब्दपति: (VIII. 52), षडक्षिरथ (IX. 74), all in the *RV.*

[3] सत्कविप्रबन्ध इवाक्लिष्टपदप्रचार: and अनवबद्धतुहिनयोजनासङ्कीर्ण: (*Vāsavadattā*). Cf. *Candrāloka*, II. 12 (क्लिष्टमर्थी यदीयोऽर्थ: श्रेणिनि:श्रेणिमृच्छति).

[4] Used like दीर्घतपस् (*RV.*, XI. 33) for the sage गौतम (though found in Nyāya-bibliography—*Bu. C.*, IV. 18 uses it as an adjective to गौतम), पक्षच्छिद् इवशची (*KS.*, I. 20) पक्षच्छिदा गोत्रभिदा (*RV.*, XIII. 7), are parallel to *KS.*, IX. 23 विषमेषुरेष ... पुष्पचाप:, where the poet's weakness for jingles may be at the root.

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practice in the great epics and because of none of such names being far-fetched, or grammarians' terms (*sautra pada*)—we have at least one such *avadyādapetaḥ* in his *RV.*, VII. 70—they are a form of expression certainly not out of place (compare the figure *yukti* of Bhoja, *S.K.A.*, II. 44–46). (VIII) Similarly words like *kāñcanaśailajā*, *chadmavihanga* are not a monopoly of this part[1] and are explained by the *praudhi* of Vāmana (III. 2, 2) who is inclined to justify such roundabout uses (the roundabout expression may be partly because of remote mythological association), though excess of licence (*atiprasaṇga*), according to him, is always to be avoided.

Jacobi lays special stress upon the tendency of the poet of the latter half to use compounds ending in *anta*; and relying on a statement (on the nature of this as the locative singular affix as in modern Marathi) of Beames[2] as well as of Hoernle dates the poet to be after Mallinātha. This view has been challenged by R. G. Bhandarkar[3] and by later writers like Gune and Damle. The locative singular affix in the Marathi language is explained by philologists as being derived from the Sanskrit word *anta* or the Prakrit form *anto*. Jacobi himself is entrapped by his mention of the poet Māgha using the same form of expression in his *Śiśupāla-vadha* (XI. 7) and by referring to Mallinātha's rendering (*sthānam*) thereon, a note not found in all editions of Mallinātha's commentary. Vallabhadeva, an earlier commentator, explains it differently (*anta* = *ekadeśa*). But the real point is that this form of compound is as old as the *ādikavi*[4] who uses it as a convenient form with different shades of meaning, not always traceable in early lexicons, though later authorities (the *Vaijayantī* and the *Śabdārṇava*) come to the rescue of poets. Kālidāsa has a particular fancy for this form, especially in the *Ram.* form *vanānta*. Other masters (e.g. Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāravi, Bhartṛhari, Māgha, Bhavabhūti) betray a fancy for it, so that this may be regarded as mannerism of such poets.[5] Nay, the

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[1] Cf. प्रभातरत्नं ज्योतिः (*Abh. Śak.*, I. 22), सुनिवनतरुच्छाया (*RV.*, III. 76), मनुष्येश्वरधर्मपत्नी (*RV.*, II. 2), मध्यमलोकपालः (*RV.*, II. 16), विहारवारि (*RV.*, XIII. 40), सर्वोपकारक्षममात्मं (*RV.*, V. 10), पितुः पदं मध्यमम् (*Vik.*, I. 20), हरिवाहनदिक् (*Vik.*, III. 6), भौमः स्थानपरिग्रहः (*RV.*, XIII. 36), काञ्चीगुणस्थान (*KS.*, I. 37), प्रतिपचन्द्र° (*RV.*, X. 15), प्रतिमाप्रशङ्क (*RV.*, VII. 64), विभूषणास्पद (*KS.*, V. 48), आत्मनः शब्दगुणं पदं (*RV.*, XIII. 1) and expressions like पौलस्त्यतुलित अद्रि (*RV.*, IV. 80), अत्रेर्नयनसमुत्थं ज्योतिः (*RV.*, III. 75), द्वितीयहरिविक्रम . . . (*Abh. Śak.*, VII. 6) and द्वादशधा स्थितस्य . . तेजसः (*Abh. Śak.*, VII. 27). For the form कदम्बविटङ्क compare क्रीडापतङ्ग (*RV.*, XVII. 20).

[2] 'The most common method of expressing the locative singular in Marāthi is by adding to the oblique form *nt* (न्त), apparently derived from the Sk. adverb अन्तर् (within), which, in Prakrit, becomes अन्तो.' (Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, II. 295.) Hoernle in his *Grammar of Gaudian Languages* (p. 241), on the authority of Hemacandra (I. 14, 60) thinks it probably to be a form of Prakrit अन्तो derived from Sans. अन्तः (*antar*).

[3] R. G. Bhandarkar in *Wilson Philological Lectures* (VI, pp. 234–241), P. D. Gune in *Comparative Philology of Indian Languages* (p. 275) and Damle in *Śāstriya Marāthi Vyākaraṇa*.

[4] e.g. *Rām.*, IV. 28. 26, 27, 33, 34 (वनान्त). Kālidāsa himself in the *RS.*, I. 22, 26; II. 23; III. 2 (all with वनान्त), III. 3 (पुलिनान्त), VI. 15 (शिरोरुहान्त), IV. 17 (पयोधरान्त), VI. 25 (द्रुमभूषितान्त), *Md. Pūr.*, 23 (वनान्त), *RV.*, IX. 35 (उपवनान्तलताः), *KS.*, IV. 51 (वनान्त), *KS.*, V. 56 (वनान्तसङ्गीतसखी).

[5] Aśvaghoṣa in the *Bu. Ca.*, V. 4 (घनान्तभूमि), VII. 55 (वनान्तभूमि); *Kirat.*, I. 36 (वनान्त), V. I (दिगन्त); *Vairāgya Śāt.* (रम्या वनान्तस्थली); *Śiśu. V.*, IV. 40 (मेखलान्त), XI. 7 (शयनीन्त); *Uttararāmac.*, II. 25 (वनान्त).

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law books of Manu and Yājñavalkya use such forms. Moreover the sense of locative is not present in any of such uses including those in the *KS.* and this precludes the hypothesis altogether.

It would thus appear that Jacobi's arguments are at best negative and cannot serve to establish his thesis. It may be retorted that neither do our refutations thereof support wholly our thesis. While we do not subscribe to this contention, we realize the barrenness of such dialectical controversy especially in formal formulations which like the demon springing anew whenever its head is chopped off gets a fresh lease of life at every chance of stroke. It is a fact that there is no finality. As the poet puts it, in such arguments, who is to have the last saying in the matter? This is why a resort to internal evidence dealing with principles and patent realities which play so prominent a part in literary issues is imperative. They were put forward by the present writer in his paper '*The Latter Half of the Kumarasambhava, a Literary Forgery*?' about thirty years ago and have not been controverted. Of the eight arguments adduced herein, two—the *alaṅkāra* background of the work [1] and the echo of several of the verses in later poetry—may not be universally accepted. Those two are here substituted by two considerations, dealing with the topography, connected with the plot-manipulation and the other with characterization of the god-norms rendered possible by the publication of works like the *Abhinavabhāratī*. The alternatives in the present issue are three: (I) The poem ended with canto VIII as we have it now (Jacobi's provision for a few more verses in that canto, lost through decay of the last pages of MSS., does not solve the issue). (II) The poem is incomplete, being abandoned by the poet, the poet's melody being brought to a dead stop by a brake-like check and not by his death, in the words of one of the greatest poets, who was attracted to it in his early years and translated a portion of it in verse as one of his earliest writings in spite of the fact that an attempt by an earlier modern poet was known to exist; and therefore what we are now having is by another hand. (III) The poem was lost to many (*aprakāsatamomagna*), went underground (*viluptaprāya*), because of the action of agencies noted hereafter; and it has been traced and recovered. The first view is not held by the generality of modern scholars; the second still lingers but there is not much of substance in both of them, as the arguments adduced below show.[2] They are the following by way of internal evidence:—

(I) The poet's idea of conjugal love [3] holding aloft the ideals of purity and social sanctity which is pressed forward in all his works except in what are purely romantic. It is expressed in his favourite lines (*Abh. Śak.*, VII. 29) an echo of which is found in Goethe, an ardent admirer of his, rendered in the manner noted below:—

Love in human wise to bless us
In a noble pair must be;

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[1] i.e. with particular fancy for the *guṇas* प्रसाद, माधुर्य्य and rarely for ओजस्, for the figures उपमा, निदर्शना, अर्थान्तरन्यास, अनुप्रास and for समासोक्ति, यमक and श्लेष rarely, and not for such as तुल्ययोगिता, दीपक, व्यतिरेक.

[2] It is well nigh impossible for an imitator, distant in time, taste and tendencies, to copy the manner and mannerisms, the mood and methods of a great poet especially in a sustained composition of the form of a *mahākāvya*. Vyāsas have been many, but Kālidāsa, gossip notwithstanding, is one. Even the prodigy of a Chatterton could be detected, because in a different sphere and in a style and language far easier for imitation.

[3] e.g. in *RV.*, III. 24; XIX. 53, 55; *Vik.*, V. 16; *Abh. Śak.*, VII. 17, 29.

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But, divinely we possess us,
It must rest in a precious Three.

The poet in the *KS.* has added a provision, which, though apparently a shock, is a prerequisite and an exposition of the same, as inculcated in varying intensity in the *Vik.* and in the *Abh. Śak.*

(II) The interrelation of the primary plot with the secondary plot—the personal affairs of Śiva and Pārvatī with the restoration of the gods with Indra at their head to their original power. Śiva being Parameśvara cannot dissociate himself from the range of universal love and service (VI. 26); and the Tārakavadha affair is thus an integral part[1] of the poem (*prabandha*). As for details (in *prakaraṇa*) that are either relevant or accessory, e.g. in the descriptions of the Gangā (X. 28–47), of the playful frolic of the wonder-child of the *Dikpālas* (XI. 40–48, XIII. 5–12), and of the omens and portents (XV. 27–32 and XVII. 35–38, 41–44), they are not only in compliance with the demands of poetic convention and epic paraphernalia, but also with the canons of literary criticism (vide the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*).

(III) The references to the *KS.* episode which abound in the accredited works[2] of the poet are pointedly to events and situations that are embodied in the latter half and are couched in almost the same language as therein. For the matter of that, the former half of the story in the *KS.* does not find a prominent mention in early literature (the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata*).

(IV) The minimum number of cantos to be present in a *mahākāvya* with space and length determined by natural divisions of the plot. The known authorities agree[3] that it is more than eight (*Sargāṣṭādhikā*). The epics of Aśvaghoṣa—the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarānanda* dealing with the life and teachings of the Buddha who was nothing short of a *deva*—go far in excess of this minimum.

(V) The striking similarities in manner, phraseology, diction and situation and in manipulation of metrical apparatus between the *KS.* and the *RV.*,[4] and the expressional coincidences ranging from his juvenal exercise, the *RS.*, to his masterpiece the *Abh. Śak.*

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[1] As hinted at in II. 51, 52, 61. As the *Vak. Jīv.* (IV. 22, 23) puts it:—तत्रैव फलसम्पत्तिसमुद्युक्तोऽपि नायकः। फलान्तरेष्वनन्तेषु तत्तुल्यप्रतिपत्तिषु ॥ धत्ते निमित्ततां स्फारयशःसम्भारभाजनम्। स्व-माहात्म्य-चमत्कारात् ... ॥ Abhinavagupta (*Abh. Bhār.*, XVIII. 74) cites the views of his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tauta, a great poeticist:—उपाध्यायास्त्वाहुः—नायकयोरनुप्राप्तिरप्यन्यगतैव यथा भगवतो भवानीपतेः गिरिराजपुत्री-सङ्गमनमिन्द्रादीनां तारकाक्रान्तनिजराज्यसमुन्मोचनाय भवतीति (p. 440).

[2] e.g. in *Vik.*, V. 13, 23; *Md. Pūr.*, 43–45, 57; *RV.*, II. 36, 37, 75; III. 23, 55; V. 36; VI. 4; VII. 1; IX. 2; XIV. 22; XVII. 67. References to the earlier part of the *KS.* story are, however, less common (e.g. in *RV.* VI. 2; XI. 13).

[3] *Sāh. Dar.*, VI सर्गा यत्राष्टाधिका दृश्य; *Agnipur.*, ch. 337 (मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाजिनियमो ..) corresponding to *Kāvyād.*, I. 17, 18 (सर्गैरनतिविस्तीर्णैः श्रव्यवृत्तैः सुसन्धिभिः) as also सर्गैर्ह्रादग्रभिर्युक्तमष्टाद्यग्रभिरप्युत and the *Iśānagīta* cited in Premchand's commentary on the *Kāvyād.*

[4] As evidenced in *KS.*, IX. 12–14, 17, 22, 28, 36, 44; X. 8, 27, 32; XI. 18, 22; XII. 4, 13, 35; XIII. 1, 7; XIV. 43, 44; XV. 17, 18, 21, 28; XVI. 2, 24, 26, 37, 48; XVII. 4, 7, 22, 35, 43, 46, 53. For situation cf. description of cities and topography as in the *Md.* and *RV.* For metre—*anuṣṭubh* in narration and long dialogue; *upajāti* in describing a deserted city, *vasantatilaka* in description (*KS.*, XVII as in *RV.*, V. 66–74; *Māl. Ag.*, V. 10; *Abh. Śak.*, IV. 1, 2; VI. 16; VII. 11).

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(VI) The skill and dexterity in fusing the *locale* of the epic with the progress of the plot,[1] viz., in the presentation of the Himālaya as a connecting link consistent with the classical unities is at a piece with the practice of Kālidāsa himself and should at once serve to refute the charge of 'shapelessness' of the latter half as contended by Jacobi.

(VII) The characterization of the gods,[2] the *dramatis personae* and of the demon-chief in the poem is as noted in earlier works like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and elucidated by Abhinavagupta in his commentary thereon.

(VIII) The meaning and connotation of the term *sambhava*[3] (with which *bhava* without the prefix and *prabhava* are convertible terms) in the poet's works, which as in early epical texts can be fit for the epic, if and when the latter half is adjudged a rightful part thereof. The ingenious explanation of Nobel is at best a subterfuge, is beside the point[4] and is a way of escape from the issue.

It is curious that the question has not yet been looked at from this angle of the internal evidence but has been sought to be decided on purely formal considerations. Stenzler (1852) seems to have kept an open mind when he described the seven cantos he published as the 'surviving ones'. Weber in 1852, in his *History of Indian Literature*, echoes this opinion—rather if one is to infer from his notes added at the end (English translation, 1874), he was inclined to admit the cogency of Sankar Pandit's arguments. His allegation of the *Śivarahasya* in the *Śankarasaṃhitā* section of the *Skandapurāṇa* (*ZDMG.*, XXVII) (which, however, is not substantiated by that text) as having inspired the latter half, which later scholars including Jacobi, Winternitz and Keith echo, is, however, contradictory to this view. Monier Williams (*Indian Wisdom*, p. 448) and Macdonell (*S.L.*) both presumably on Sankar Pandit's arguments ascribe the whole poem to Kālidāsa. Keith (1928), who seems to be the first writer to refer to the view of Indian poeticists who stress the inner essence of poetry (*kāvyārthatattva*), is nonetheless led away by the arguments of Jacobi; but he is undecided, for in one foot-note (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 92), perhaps inadvertently, he refers to canto XIII as of Kālidāsa himself. Nobel puts forward in his *Foundations of Indian Poetics* (p. 138) the plea that the latter half did not come into being before Viśvanātha. Winternitz seems to be aware of the new phase of the issue because of Aruṇagirināṭha's reference thereto but fights shy of it. What is strange is that present-day Indian scholars

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[1] Topography of the Himālaya and its environs is as of a *tirthakṣetra* (viz. कुमारवन, गौरीशिखर, कैलास, स्फाटिकपृङ्ग (शिवालय), गन्धमादनवन, स्थाणाश्रम, ओषधिप्रस्थ, श्रवण, वैजयन्तधौमन्, हिमालयपुर, एकपिङ्गलगिरि) with distinctive features for each.

[2] Consistently so the Upaniṣadic direction for the gods to be subdued (दाम्यत) and the demons to be charitable (दयध्वम्)—a characterization broadly complied with throughout the *KS.* Vide *Nāṭyaśas.*, XXIV. 2, 4, 6 (N.S. edn.) तत्रोत्तमानां प्रकृतौ नानालक्षणलक्षिताः। देवा धीरोदता ज्ञेयाः सुधीरललिता नृपाः।.....एते ते नायका ज्ञेयाः काव्यबन्धेषु सर्वदा॥ The insistence on the hero being of a धीरोदात्त type, much in evidence in later *alankāra* treatises, is explained by the following remark of the *Daśarūpaka* (II. 4, 5 *vṛth*) औदात्त्यं हि नाम सर्वोत्कर्षेषु च वृत्तिः।..and धीरललितादिशब्दास्तु यथोक्तगुणसमारोपितावस्थाभिधायिनः। वत्सदृषभमहोक्षादिवन्न जात्या कश्चिदवस्थितरूपो ललितादिरस्ति।

[3] e.g. *Vik.*, V. 7, 14; *RV.*, III. 42, VII. 68, IX. 68, IX. 73, X. 58, XIII. 75, XIX. 48; *Abh. Śak.*, I. 22, II, 8, VII. 27.

[4] 'The title can be completely understood if we assume that the author has chosen it to refer to Kumāragupta.' (*The Foundations of Indian Poetics*, Intr., p. 14.)

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have paid scant attention to the essence underlying the debate and have looked at it from the standpoint of craftsmanship only. Krisnamachariar (1934) follows the old track, though he knows its present phase. Dr. S. K. De, while admitting that 'the Indian literary sense never thought it fit to preserve immaturities' (*Hist. Skr. Lit.*, 1947, p. 128) and that 'the sequel is not devoid of merit' (*ibid.*, p. 127), does not accept the latter half of the *KS.* (or the *RS.*) as genuine production of the poet. Scholars like Sarupa, Agarwala and Upadhyaya in their recent manuals of Sanskrit Literature in Hindi, while explaining the title, are led away by the weight of Western authorities. The points raised by scholars of the type of Vidhthala Sastrin should have been investigated by an intensive study of the whole poem as of other works of the poet and of arguments which were not known because of the works of master critics like Ānandavardhana being beyond their reach and a decision arrived at therefrom.

The case of internal evidence has recently been strengthened by the discovery of two sculptures which can *exclusively* and *conclusively* be understood by a reference to the text of this part. Before dilating on them and on their identification, let us turn to the story of their coming into the purview of the writer, particularly as they will reveal a deplorable tendency noticeable amongst our scholars.

About four years ago (1950), while at Bhuvanesvar, the writer chanced to visit the Orissa Provincial Museum which was then temporarily housed in a building close to the lodge where he was putting up. Sri K. C. Panigrahi, the then Curator, showed, and asked the writer about, an old image in sandstone which was lying in open air in the compound of the building. It was described as a recent and rare find, and of the Gupta period, not later than the seventh century A.D. The writer was impressed with the image and was at once reminded of the verse [1] (*KS.*, IX. 14) and drew the attention then and there of Dr. Y. D. Sarma standing by him, presumably there on official duty. While back in Calcutta some three weeks after, he got a letter from Sri Panigrahi asking for affirming after scrutiny 'the references to the scene of *Śivavīryādhāna*', which the writer had suggested as the subject-matter of the image and which Sri Panigrahi described as 'most valuable'. The writer promptly sent in reply the references to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Śivapurāṇa* and the *Skandapurāṇa*, explaining why in the light of the references the conclusion that the sculpture was an exact representation of the verse and no less of the situation of canto IX of the *KS.* appeared irresistible to him. In reply Sri Panigrahi wrote that he 'could not' but admire the spirit with which the writer had promptly replied to a query casually put to him there (at Bhuvanesvar) by himself and informed him that in a paper containing the results of these searches which he would be forwarding for publication to the *J.A.S.B.* he would acknowledge his debt to the writer, contrasting incidentally 'the spirit and attitude of the so-called scholars' and dwelling on his helplessness in not getting any co-operation from any quarters. The writer did not hear anything further for quite a long time and, as it is the habit with him, slept over the matter with his characteristic inertness and indifference.

But to the sculpture itself. Whenever the writer thinks of it (he has seen it only once) he cannot but admire the directness and *naïveté* of the

[1] युगान्तकालाग्निमिवाविषह्यं परिच्युतं मन्मथरङ्गभङ्गात्। रतान्तरेतः स हिरण्यरेतस्यथोर्ध्वरेतास्त्रदृशोघमाधात्॥ The reading in the first quarter of the verse is अविषह्यं and not अभिषह्यं. (cf. *RV.*, VI. 47 and XVIII. 25). Cf. also *KS.*, X. 12 and *Md. Pur.*, V. 43 (रत्नाहेतोर्नवग्रहश्रिता वासवीनां चमूनामत्यादित्यं ऊतवहमुखे सम्भृतं तद्धि तेजः।)

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sculptor, who, in a spirit of inspiration from the original, attempted something that is almost unparalleled in achievement, when we think of things, sought to be identified as representing the theme of some verse or other of literary masterpieces. The figure of Agni, framed in conformity with the dicta of early architecture and with the poet's description elsewhere in the work (XIV. 6), with the ram-vehicle and his two arms and the flames encompassing his body, is very natural and facile. It is as well reminiscent of his active and steadfast guise as a pigeon[1] which the poet has drawn upon from Vedic symbolism of *suparṇa* (cf. *RV.*, I. 164. 46; X. 114; *Śat. Br.*, X. 2. 1. 1) and has aptly embellished in his characteristic manner (IX. 2, 3) which finds an echo in the *Kāvyādarśa* (II. 10) of Daṇḍin. The form of Brahman is suggestive, reminding one of the rôle that he plays in that *mahākāvya*, of a guide and a counsel, though not an exact participator in the earnest and solemn efforts of the gods, with Indra as their head, who had become impatient and desperate. The divine couple, Śiva and Pārvatī, are shown in their usual dalliance mood, rather, in an unseemly pose (*ūrdhvaretas*), redolent of the extravagant, erotic images of later reputed artists of Orissa and elsewhere.

More recently in March, 1953, two young German students, 'exchange' research scholars in Calcutta, Dr. K. Fischer and Dr. P. Gaeffke, the latter of whom is a pupil of the writer, brought to the writer another equally old sculpture asking for an identification, if possible. On a study thereof the writer was convinced of its being a nice representation of the two *chums*, Nandin and Bhṛngin associated as doorkeepers of Śiva in Pauranic ideology and as the two prominent amongst his *gaṇas* in the *KS.* (XII. 8 *sa nandibhṛngi-pramukhaih*). There they are delineated in a pose which is an exact reproduction in stone of *KS.*, IX. 47–50.[2] Two noted iconographic experts Sri O. C. Ganguly and Professor J. N. Banerjea on having been consulted have subsequently wholeheartedly supported the writer's conviction, hailing it as a rare find and an acquisition. Previous to this the writer, on being instantly apprised of the figure to the left being Nandin, with the face of a bull and with a staff in hand (cf. *KS.*, XII. 6) and with his doorkeeper aspect,[3] had been seeking for a clue when the description of the part played by the *gaṇas* in inducing a vein of mirth and laughter springing from love[4] in more than one context of the poem flashed into his mind.

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[1] Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji showed the writer a series of neat Kangra valley colour paintings depicting the incidents of the *KS.* (including those of the burning of Kāma, the amorous enjoyments in the *ratigṛha* in Kailāsa) where Agni is represented as having a parrot as his vehicle (*vāhana*).

[2]
देवस्य तस्य स्मरसूदनस्य हसं समाश्रित्य सविभ्रमश्रीः ।
सा नन्दिना वेत्रभृतोपदिष्टमार्गा पुरोगेन समं चचाल ॥
चलच्छिखाग्रो विकटाङ्गभङ्गः सुदन्तुरः शुक्लसुतीक्ष्णतुण्डः ।
भ्रुवोपदिष्टः स तु शङ्करेण तस्या विनोदाय ननर्त्त भङ्गी ॥ . . . .
भयङ्करौ तौ विकटं नटन्तौ विलोक्य बाला भयविक्लवाङ्गी ।
सरागमुत्सङ्गमनङ्गशत्रोर्गाढं प्रसह्य स्वयमालिलिङ्ग ॥

Was प्रसह्य the poet's reading in the last quarter of the last verse?

[3] Nandin and Bhṛngin are associated as doorkeepers or as attendant *gaṇas* of Śiva in the *Purāṇas* (*Agnipur.*, ch. 36 and *Vāmanapur.*, ch. 44–47, Vangavasi edn., Calcutta) and in popular belief in North India (as in *KS.*, XII. 8).

[4] *K.S.*, VII. 95, XI. 44, XII. 8. For a possible hit at such vulgar and reprehensible mimicry, vide Kautilya *Arthaśāstra*, V. 3, 16 (Jolly's edn.) and *Kāvya pr.*, ch. VII, under *rasadoṣa* as alleged by the late Pandit Vitthala Sastrin.

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This is in full consonance with the characteristics of a jester (*vidūṣaka*) and a *vaihāsika* [1] or an *aupahāsika* as noted in works like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, two favourite texts with Kālidāsa which became obsolete in later times and were rarely utilized. The monkey face of the figure to the right reminds one of Kālidāsa's characterization [2] of the *vidūṣaka* as a painted monkey—a wild monkey moving about in forests—as well as of the symbolism in the *piṅgalavānara* reference. The Purāṇas attribute this deformity as to Agni in the *KS.*, IX, 18 (*pāvakālokaruṣā*) to be the retribution for the prying attitude [3] of Bhṛngin into forbidden positions. This is a feature prominent in a later image in Śrīśailam.[4] Along with these features, the dwarfish and pot-bellied form, the blunt mien, the twist in the eye that is tawny, the projecting teeth and the curls of hair waving in dancing exercise, which are well represented in the sculpture, bring into relief traits well known in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and decide the identification.

To continue the story. In July last Sri R. H. Gandhi of Nadiad, Gujarat, basing his information on Krisnamachariar's *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, asked for a copy of the writer's paper. He also drew his attention to two recent articles, one in the *J.O.R.*, Madras, Vol. XII, December, 1951, and the other in Sanskrit in the *Sahṛdaya*. In the former appears an account of the first sculpture noted in this paper of which 'the details were explained to its author by Sri K. C. Panigrahi'. The writer has hastened to record his correct identification as 'luckily as it has not been published so far'. While refraining from finding out the reason for this peculiar hurry, the present writer has to submit that in spite of his statement, 'Verse 14 in the 9th sarga of the *KS.* is an unparalleled epitomization of the story, bidding well to become the title, as it were, of the sculpture under description', he gives instead the *Rāmāyaṇa* version of the episode in which the seed of Śiva falls on earth and Agni enters and receives it, helped by his associate Vāyu quite unlike what is represented in the sculpture and described in the poem where the discharge goes directly to Agni. The narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[5] the epic which must have sug-

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[1] *Nāṭyaśās.*, VI. 58-59, VIII. 20-22, 49 (क्रमादाकुञ्चितपुटा सविभ्रान्ताल्पतारका। हास्या दृष्टिस्तु कर्त्तव्या कुहकाभिनयं प्रति॥ ....मुक्तर्याद्दत्ततारा च दृष्टिराकैकरा स्मृता॥), XII. 138 (in G.O.S. edn.), XXIV. 106 (N.S. edn.) (वामनो दन्तुरः कुब्जो द्विजन्मविकृताननः। खलतिः पिङ्गलाक्षश्च स विज्ञेयो विदूषकः॥), XXV. 25 (खेदविदूषितवदनो विदूषको वाच्य विज्ञेयः।), also *Bhāvaprāk.*, X परिहासविनोदेषु स्त्रीणां स्युः कुब्जवामनाः। खाविडकर्णः क्लीवश्च ह्रस्वो विकटदन्तुरः। तुन्दिलोऽभ्यन्तरचर उपस्थापिक उच्यते॥ The sculptures represent these features faithfully.

[2] *Vik.*, II (ना कहं सो वच्चवम्भू अदिसंधातव्वो।... अम्मो आलेक्खवाणरो विअ किंपि मन्तअन्तो णिउदो अजुमाणवओ चिट्ठदि), *Vik.*, V (राजा। वत्स! प्रियसखं ब्राह्मणमभङ्गितो वन्दस्व। विदूषकः। किंत्ति संकिस्सदि। णं अस्समवासपरिचिदो एव्व साहामिओ।), *Māl. Ag.*, IV (जयसेना। देव कुमारी वसुलच्छी कन्दुअं अणुधावन्ती पिङ्गलवाणरेण वलिअं वित्तासिदा।.. विदूषकः। साड्ढ रे पिङ्गलवाणर साड्ढ। पल्लादो तुए सवक्खो।)

[3] *e.g.* in *Kālikāpur.*, ch. 45 (Vangavasi edn.) अकुर्वतां ततो भूयादुभवतो जन्म मानुषे। मानुषीं योनिमासाद्य समावेक्षणदोषतः। भविष्यतो भवन्तौ तु शाखामृगसुखावपि॥

[4] H. Krishnaśāstrin, *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, p. 106 (fig. 105).

[5] *Rām.*, I. 36. 16–20

एवमुक्तास्ततो देवाः प्रत्यूचुर्हृष्टमध्वजम्।
यत्तेजः क्षुभितं तेऽद्य तदरा धारयिष्यति॥

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gested to the poet the title of his work,[1] is differently handled in the *KS.* Save a vague mention of the verse and a remark about Kālidāsa's composing the immortal *KS.*, no use is made of canto IX which is unceremoniously taken for granted as the work of the poet. The present writer has as yet had no opportunity of looking at the second paper.

As to the plot, there appear on a formal analysis two parts—one dealing with the birth of Kumāra, and the other with his achievement in killing Tāraka. The *Rāmāyaṇa* treats of the first part with a characteristic variation from the episode in the *KS.* on the prominence of Agni corresponding to the Vedic symbolism adumbrated in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.*[2] This is utilized in the conception of the birth of Kumāra as a product of *tapas*, which is nicely regarded as the preliminary in the *tapasyā* of Umā before her marriage. The point is otherwise manipulated in the *Mahābhārata* account in different contexts with minor modifications, in the order of the participants carrying the seed of Śiva, and as to the training of Kumāra which is summarily disposed of in one verse (*KS.*, XI. 50) as keeping with the divine nature of the character. The second part told *out* in a couple of verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] is the main stay of the poet though some help in details is availed of from the *Mahābhārata.*[4] In the *Mbh.* Skanda is *par excellence* the god of valour and strength and therefore his achievements in defeating Indra and other gods as much as Tāraka and other demons find quite aptly a prominent mention. Of course only in the final phase Skanda comes to the rescue of Indra. The vehicle of the

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एवमुक्ता सुरपतिः प्रतुतोष महाबलः।
तेजसा पृथिवी येन व्याप्ता सगिरिकानना ॥
ततो देवाः पुनरिदमूचुश्चापि हुताशनम्।
आविश त्वं महातेजा रौद्रं वायुसमन्वितः ॥
तदग्निना पुनर्व्याप्तं सञ्जातः श्वेतपर्वतः ॥
दिव्यं शरवणञ्चैव पावकादित्यसन्निभम्।
यत्र जातो महातेजाः कार्त्तिकेयोऽग्निसम्भवः ॥

[1] *Rām.*, I. 37. 31 (कुमारसम्भवश्चैव . . .).

[2] VI. 1. 3. 8–18 (तं प्रजापतिरब्रवीत् कुमार! किं रोदिषि यच्छ्रमात्तपसोऽधिजातोऽसीति। सोऽब्रवीत् अनपहतपाप्मा वा अस्मि . . .। तान्येतान्यष्टावग्निरूपाणि कुमारो नवमः सैवाग्नेरिष्टका।).

[3] *Rām.*, I. 37. 29-30

गृहीत्वा चौरमेकाह्ना सुकुमारवपुस्तदा।
अजयत् स्वेन वीर्येण दैत्यसेनागणान् विभुः ॥
सुरसेनागणपतिमभ्यषिञ्चन्महाद्युतिम्।
ततस्तत्सम्भवाः सर्वे समेत्याग्निपुरोगमाः ॥ . . . .

The phrase एकेनाह्ना is to be noted and compared with that in the *KS.* account of his achieving this feat while he was a babe six days old.

[4] *Mbh.*, I. 62; I. 66; III. 217; III. 223; III. 224; III. 226; IX. 44 (story of the carrying of the *Śivavīrya* as in the *KS.*), XIII. 85 (for the earlier half). A similar episode is that of the birth of Śuka, the son of the sage Vyāsa (*Mbh.*, XII. 322–324). For the latter half, cf. *Mbh.*, III. 83; III. 227; III. 229; III. 231; VI. 173; IX. 42-43; XIII. 14; XIII. 84, 86. (For the name Skanda, vide *Mbh.*, III. 232.) References are to the Poona Citraśalā edn. Cf. the *Harivaṃśa* account (I., chaps. 42–4°, Vangavasi edn.) of the fight pertaining to the danger from Tāraka (तारकामय संग्राम), which is known to the poet and is utilized in minor details, but not in the main plot.

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peacock,[1] an inseparable part of his Pauranic paraphernalia and of his iconographic heritage, is missed in the *KS.* as the poet seems to regard it as a toy for play and therefore unworthy of mention in a heroic narrative. The *Purāṇas*, especially the *Skanda*[2] *and the Śiva*, connect the two parts and more or less follow the *Mbh.* It is significant that details in the Pauranic forms of the episode do vary from those of the epic and from each other. The story of the discovery of Kumāra by the parent on the sixth day of his birth, the prowess that was with him from his nativity as different from the Pauranic account of his acquiring it as a gift more or less in the manner of the emergence of Caṇḍī from gods in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and of Śiva's assent at the end to help the gods at Indra's solicitations are different in details here. He appears herein nonetheless as an *avatāra* born fresh of Śiva (*sadyojāta*) and doing what is expected of him in the manner of the *Gītā* statement (*sambhavāmi yuge yuge*).

The *motif* relating to the birth is also differently brought out. The curse of Umā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is directed to the gods the consequences of which are traceable in the episode as dilated in the *Mbh.* and the *Purāṇas.* The curse in the *KS.* is directed to Agni (IX. 16-17) because it is he who stands in the way of the gratification of her desires which, consistent with her bodily attractions, dwelt on in more than one context in the poem[3] is brought to the forefront. The humouring of Umā (VIII. 57–77) for temporary suspension of erotic impulse with words followed by amorous activities (VIII. 78–87) indulged on in detail with a meticulous felicity (IX. 18–28) in direct consonance with the injunctions of the *Kāmaśāstra* as much as in the light of the poet's creed as harped on elsewhere (e.g. in *Vik.*, II. 21) has to be read in this light. The birth of the son—a natural privilege to a woman and a function exalted as the tangible perpetuation of the family in the *RV.*,[4] the *Abh. Śak.* and formulated in the words of Bhavabhūti—is here when several years—in one interpretation twenty-five years in human calculation (VII. 91)—intervene in spite of the urgency of the demand (VII. 92, 93) as in the *Vik.*, a matter of no unusual importance. Not that, when the first flash of this temporary infatuation is over, Umā is unmindful of her *rôle* as a mother, as and when the fact is revealed to her.

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[1] Images of Kaumārī (Śakti of Kumāra) seated on a peacock (cf. *Mark. Pur.*, chap. 85. 17) assigned to Kuṣāṇa period and of Kumāra, being installed as the Divine Generalissimo by Brahman of about 500 A.C., are found deposited in the Mathura Archaeological Museum.

[2] *Skandapur.* (Maheśvarakhaṇḍa), chaps. 20–30 and Uttarakhaṇḍa, chaps. 13–18 (Vangavasi edn.) and in the other recension (as in the Calcutta Asiatic Society Govt. Colln. MSS. No. 6027 and in the Venkatesvar Press edn.), under *Śaṅkara Saṃhitā* Śivarahasya Sambhava Khaṇḍa (in 50 chaps.), both in the Kāvya style and more elaborate than in the *KS.* The Sambhava Khaṇḍa, chaps. 24–50 cover the same ground as cantos IX–XVII *KS.* and more. In this latter account Kumāra is born of *Śivavīrya* sprung upward (cf. ऊर्द्धरेतस्) *from the forehead* of the Lord (chap. 25, 24–27), from his six eyes, justifying in a manner the six faces of himself, thus meeting squarely the criticism levelled against the *KS.* account. This, along with elaborate details as in the case of the playful pranks of the babe and the manner of the march of events in the war between the gods and the demons, make it highly probable that it (with *Purāṇa* portion) knew the *KS.* text (entire) and was a late mediaeval work. Vide *Vāmanapur.*, chaps. 44–47, 52–58; *Varāhapur.*, 25; *Kālikāpur.* and *Nāradapur.* give similar accounts or a summary.

[3] e.g. I. 37; II. 59; III. 57; V. 1, 71; VIII. 1, 90; IX. 14, 51; X. 11.

[4] *RV.*, III. 24; *Abh. Śak.*, VII. 29; *Uttararāmacar.*, III. 17

अन्तःकरणतत्त्वस्य दम्पत्योः स्नेहसंश्रयात्।
द्वानन्द्यन्यिरेकोऽयमपत्यमिति लभ्यते॥

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It is idle to speculate whether it was the poet's preference for Vedic symbolism which makes of the antecedents of the birth of the wonder-child Kumāra a mystery or it was his youthful fancy saturated with passion that was at the root of this. Sufficient it is to know that the stages in the *motif* are graduated in the works of the poet—the stages of erotic elaboration, consistent with poetic convention, those in the *KS.* and in the *Vik.* leading to what is inferred in the *MD.* and culminating in what are categorically put forward in the *RV.* and in the *Abh. Śak.*

This affinity between the *Vik.* and the *KS.* appears in other respects as well—the preference for certain weak and lame forms (e.g. *nitānta, utsuka*), the background of fancy and landscape, and of heavenly grandeur, and the zest for grandiose, the atmosphere of erotic enjoyment which the poet has cleverly avoided in his other dramas, the tapping of the Vedic source, the closeness of the ideology in Act II and of new situation in Act III of the *Vik.*, the direct statement as of fresh achievement at the end (V. 23) already hinted at in Act I by Menakā (between verses 5 and 6) because of the discovery of the boy and the fresh revision and improvement in verses (*II.* 3, III. 6, 22) upon their counterparts in the *KS.*, all these[1] cannot but in the manner of a shrewd commentary betray their own story. Along with the *RS.* with the heritage of phrases and words as signs of common authorship, the three form a well-connected trio. In the insertion of the dialogues (and addresses in its epics), the emphasis on suggestiveness in plot-evolution and characterization hardly counts so much as narrative, or more often descriptive excellence as is the case in *Abh. Śak.* or in the *RV.* (e.g. in II. 43, 58 and XIV. 61, 67, 72–78) but it would be rash to say that they are entirely absent in the latter half of the *KS.* (XII. 43–52, XV. 32–38) as they are in earlier half (*KS.*, V and VI) and in Act III of the *Vik.* especially towards its close. The *RS.* and the *KS.* (latter half) were deemed unworthy stuff and were ignored (or *aprakāśatamomagna*, in the language of a commentator). While this is not true of the entire *Vik.*, the text of Act IV therein has raised great doubts. Scholarly opinion has veered round in accepting the *RS.*[2] in spite of the objections noted by a recent editor thereof (Paris, 1938). The clever hypothesis,[3] that one scholar has mooted very recently in making capital of the reference to *niyoga* and of the many uses of the word Candra and to the birth of Kumāra in the *Vik.*, may have some factual basis, though not to the extent of agreement in details, as that would impute to the poet a desire to achieve historical realism, quite out of keeping with his poetic nature, a realism which is from the viewpoint of social morality, always complied with in his works, damaging to his royal patron. In one important respect these two works are allied studies in the development of *śṛṅgāra* of a type we discuss in another section.

In the case of the *KS.* the objections commonly raised concern (I) the emphasized lack of MS. material, (II) the absence of citations therefrom, and (III) 'poor workmanship'. This third item should better be substituted by poorer workmanship. Objections (I) and (II) are to a great extent

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[1] For ideology *KS.*, VIII. 78–81, IX. 18–28 and *Vik.*, II. 21. For situation and development (i) *KS.*, VIII. 63 (अङ्गुलीभिरिव ...) and *Vik.*, III. 6 (उदयगूढ ...), (ii) *KS.*, VIII. 91 and *Vik.*, III. 22 (अनधिगतमनोरथस्य ...).

[2] 'Though Kālidāsa was to write much finer poetry he was also to lose that perfect lucidity ...', Keith, *H.S.L.*, p. 84. Vide Sir W. Jones' voluptuous praise in his edn. (1792) and Bohlen's reasoned estimate (1840) of the *RS.*, the first known work of the poet. Winternitz (*H.I.L.*, Vol. III) accepts the genuineness of the *RS.*

[3] R. M. Trivedi in *The Vikramorvaśī—a Historical Drama?* (as in the summary of papers for the A.I.O. Conference, Ahmedabad, 1953).

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interrelated. As to (I), the arguments to be adduced relating to systematic attack by Alaṅkāra writers (9th to 13th century) and the fact that the bulk of MSS., which became interrupted for a long spell, had slender chance of reappearing—only those that went underground could by chance come to light—are a sufficient rejoinder. The contention relating to the issue on this part of a commentator on the work to which we shall presently advert, the express mention of the standard *sargabandha* containing more than 8 cantos in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (in ch. VI of *circa* 1340), and the citation in the *Unādivṛtti* (IV. 66, p. 106, Aufrecht's edn.) of Ujjvalladatta prove this. On the authority of a doubtful reading in Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the *Amarakośa*, this is held by some to be not from the *KS.* but from Kumāradāsa.[1] We have to note that in works on grammar and lexicography (e.g. *Ṭīkāsarvasva*, *Durghaṭavṛtti*) the base Kumāra in the masculine is used for the *KS.* Out of 30 quotations from the *KS.* in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* 29 are of this type. The *Raghu* and the *Kirāta* are similarly designated. The *Jānakīharaṇa* is mentioned by name generally as in one *Unādivṛtti* passage (III. 73). Six passages from the *KS.* are shown in the *Unādivṛtti* as *iti Kumāraḥ* and two as *iti Kālidāsaḥ*. The *Unādivṛtti* gives the derivation of Kumāra following the *Nyāsa* on VI. 2. 26 lending its support to the sense in the name by way of evidence (*KS.*, XI. 40)—a form just in keeping with the *motif* of assigning and explaining the names (the *nāmakaraṇa*) in his *RV.* (as in those of Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha, Rāma, Kuśa, Lava, etc.). Kṣemendra of known writers notes the name of the author Kumāradāsa. Moreover, the *Jānakīharaṇa* passage[2] is not exactly of the form quoted. Kumāradāsa is a close follower of Kālidāsa in language and manner, and uses lines of early poets; and the passage fits in the context of the *KS.* better than in the *Jānakīharaṇa*. This at least serves to show that MSS. of the work had not become rare even in the 14th century. Sītārāma's[3] reference to alternative readings and other commentators[3] makes it clear that MSS., though few, were there and that the latter half has been an integral part of the work. H. P. Sastrin's *Notices*, *Vol. X*, describe the work and Jivananda notes that he used three MSS. from Nepal for his edition

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[1] This passage (*J.H.*, IX. 12) reads

हलायुधाभस्य सकाहलो रवः पयोधिनिर्घोषगभीरभैरवः।
ततः प्रगल्भाहतभेरिसम्भवः प्रकाशयामास गतिं समन्ततः॥

The *KS.* verse is

रवः प्रगल्भाहतभेरिसम्भवः कर्णान्तकूलङ्कषतामुपेयिवान्।
पयोनिधेः क्षुब्धतरस्य मन्यनो बभूव भूम्ना भुवनोदरम्भरिः॥

Ujjvaladatta's work (Aufrecht's edn., 1858) has रवः प्रगल्भाहतभेरिसम्भव इति कुमारः। The *Veṇīsamhāra* passage महाप्रलयमारुत.... । रवः श्रवणभैरवः स्फुगितरोदसीकन्दरः कृतोद्य समरोद्भेरयमभूतपूर्वः स्तवः is an echo of Kālidāsa's verse.

[2] It is a curious coincidence that the surviving commentaries (that are popular) on the *Vik.*, *RS.* and *KS.* (latter half) all came from Mahratti scholars who lived near about 1800 A.C., drew largely from earlier expositions (साहित्यसागरतः.... समाचकर्ष to use the language of one of them) and helped to restore and establish the full texts. Mallināṭha's commentary, as known to Sītārāma, covered the first seven cantos. Probably his information was the right one.

[3] Readings, e.g. IX. 3; X. 21, 37; XI. 4; XII. 15; XIV. 26; XV. 5, 37; XVI. 26. For commentators, vide X. 21, 44; XII. 15; XIV. 2, 6, 9. It must be admitted, however, that Sītārāma's commentary is far from satisfactory. His occasionally wild conjectures (e.g. XII. 15 and XVII. 4) and out of the way expositions (e.g. in IX. 51 for उत्प्रेक्षा) are simply ludicrous.

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of the *KS*. With regard to objection (III), though there are exceptions and good exceptions, too, this weakness which, as Vitthala Sastrin notes, is due to lack of proper maturity of the poet (*anatiprauḍhabhāva*). One should remember that this was the poet's first attempt at epic, in which he has striven for descriptional excellence and a blending of fancy and grace.

It would be presumptuous to think that early critics were blind to this aspect of the question as it would be bold to assume that Kālidāsa—or for the matter of that any poet—was immune from criticism, simply because he was pre-eminent (*labdhakīrti*). The attitude of early *alaṅkāra* masters such as Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana—the exponents of formal felicity and correctness of expression—as we have noted already, was not always helpful; but nonetheless they were much alive to his forte[1] of lucidity (*prasāda*), and his felicity in description, a feature in evidence throughout his epic *prabandhas* as well, as is evidenced by their definition and illustrations thereof. Daṇḍin's description of a *sargabandha*[2] is an efficient indication, though with a double *entendre* of his appreciation of the descriptional details of this poem. Rudraṭa also knows of *padabhaṅga* (III. 5, 5) in verses in *sargabandhas* and of lapses met with in Kālidāsa's works, including the latter half of the *KS*.

All this goes to show incidentally that the entire *KS*. was current coin and had not suffered by any reduction in extent up to the ninth century. It would be wrong to think that in Kālidāsa's *prasāda* barred out other merits and that the poet urged a monopolistic use thereof. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa's characterization Kālidāsa's poetry is natural (*nirgata*) and sweet (*madhurasārdra*). Bāṇa is aware of the poet's gift which makes his poesy the fancy of one and all—and the very interesting formulations of the demand of a poem,—from the context, presumably a *sargabandha*[3]—which are duly, in the fashion of a critic, anticipated by the poet himself—are worth mention. This is as it should be and this is what constitutes the real essence of the *vaidarbhī rīti* for which Kālidāsa is taken as the standard writer. (It is a fact that the latter half of the *KS*. does not suffer on this head in comparison with other accredited works of the poet.) That Kālidāsa himself did not practise it indiscriminately everywhere[4] is borne out by his composition.

There is, however, the view that the poet's reputation has depended more on what the poeticists choose to term *śakti* (genius) than on his manner of execution (*vyutpatti*—preparation and practice). Rājaśekhara (*circa*

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[1] Bhāmaha's *Kāvyād.*, II. 3; *Kāvyād.*, I. 45; *K.A.S.V.*, III. 1, 6; III. 2, 3.

[2] *Kāvyād.*, I. 16–17. That by कुमार Daṇḍin meant Kārttikeya through *śleṣa* is evident from his *proviso* उदयवर्णनैः which singularly fits in in this case.

[3] The exposition in the old commentary *Saṁketa* thereon of निर्गतासु and न वा तस्य confirms our view; for in the accepted view of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVI. 118) a drama did not stand in need of such a characterization.

[4] *Śiśup. V.*, II. 85 (नैकमोजः प्रसादो वा रसभावविदः कवेः ॥) Vallabhadeva's reading is रसभाग, which is the apter one and is thus explained there यश्च रसभागं कविर्जानाति तेनैक एव गुण ओजः प्रसादो वा नाश्रयणीयः . . . । For ओजस् in the poet which is less common, vide e.g. *KS.*, XV. 15, 53 and XVII (generally) as well as *RV.*, VII. 58, XI. 72–73; *Māl. Ag.*, V. 10 (तूणीरपट्टपरिणद्ध . . .), and *Abh. Śak.*, I. 29. *Dh. Ā. locana* (under III. 19):—नायकस्य हि धीरोदात्तादिभेदभिन्नस्य सर्वथा वीररसानुप्रबन्धेन भवितव्यम् ।

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900) in his *Kāvyamīmānsā*[1] has summarized the views of earlier authorities on the relative merits of *śakti* and *vyutpatti* and has ended with the views which were influenced by the investigations of the new school with Ānandavardhana as their pioneer.

There are some who think that Kālidāsa was beyond criticisms, so far as the inner essence of poetry—rooted in a sense of proportion and suggestiveness—is concerned. The facts, however, prove otherwise. Ānandavardhana's is the first attempt to point out the material flaws so as to dislodge what is comparatively immature, bold and unworthy of preservation.[2] To be precise, another master Udbhaṭa, though in the rôle of a bard, anticipated him and thought that the *KS.* as known to him required retouching, keeping intact the Tārakavadha episode as evident from his projected and very likely executed epic, the *KS.*, cited in part in his *K.A.S.V.* Ānandavardhana's criticism hints at the desideratum of a standard *mahākāvya* which he divides into two classes—one dependent on the fable and the other on its *rasa*-texture of which latter Kālidāsa's works (*RV.*) are regarded as the type.[3] While in the former the poet enjoys some latitude in the matter of the plot, e.g. in introducing supernatural machinery and manipulating codes of morality foreign to social codes of conduct, in the latter he is tied down by these and allied considerations. For as in the domain of dramas, Indian criticism has been alive to the demands of harmonization of the plot, hero and sentiment as much as in the Western Aristotelian set-up. Gods as heroes of epic poems are not adjudged to be barred out as in drama proper (*nāṭaka*), where according to the tradition handed down by Bharata they can appear only as accomplices. But even so, their achievements have to be reoriented so that there is no undue pressure on our faculties of make-believe, and no departure from the standard of human conduct as established in holy tradition. A critic, for example, is sure to be shocked at seeing presented in a *kāvya* a baby six days old—then only known to his parents and not before—at his being installed as commander-in-chief of an army that very day and

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[1] शक्तिकर्तृके हि प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्तिकर्मणी। बहुज्ञता व्युत्पत्तिरित्याचार्याः। उचितानुचितविवेको व्युत्पत्तिरिति यायावरीयः।... प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्त्योः प्रतिभा श्रेयसीत्यानन्दः (*Kāvyamīm.*, IV.) (अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः।) व्युत्पत्तिः श्रेयसीति मङ्गलः।... प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्ती मिथः समवेते श्रेयस्त्वाविति याथावरीयः (on *Dh. A.*, III. 6, *vṛtti*). Jagannāthā's viewpoint तस्य (काव्यस्य) च कारणं कविगता केवला प्रतिभा। सा च काव्यघटनानुकूलशब्दार्थोपस्थितिः is the *siddhānta* of the latter theorists who are not blind to the traditional conception of *Kāvya* (कवेः कर्म काव्यम्).

[2] *Dhv. A.* (under III. 19) :—

पूर्वे विघट्टकुलगिरः कवयः प्राप्तकीर्त्तयः।
तान् समाश्रित्य न त्याज्या नीतिरेषा मनीषिणा॥
वाल्मीकिव्यासमुख्याश्च ये प्रख्याताः कवीश्वराः।
तदभिप्रायवाच्योऽयं नास्माभिर्दर्शितो नयः॥

Māṇikyacandra in his *Saṃketā* on the *Kāv. Pro.* notes in connection with *rasadoṣa* :— महाकवयोऽप्यन्यद्बीजमुपचिप्य... प्रस्तुतरसतिरस्कारिणीं वर्णनां कुर्वन्तो दृश्यन्त इति त एवात्र तत्त्वज्ञाः।

[3] *Dh. A.* (III. 7 *vṛtti*)—सर्गबन्धे तु रसतात्पर्ये यथारसमौचित्यम्, अन्यथा तु कामचारः। and °*Locana* रसतात्पर्यं यथा रघुवंशादि। द्वयोरपि मार्गयोः सर्गबन्धविधायिनां दर्शनाद्रसतात्पर्यं साधीयः।

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achieving victory over his indomitable foe (*KS.*, X. 34) like unto the sun dispelling nocturnal darkness all at once, as put in a well-known verse.[1]

The *Rām.*, and the *Mbh.*, in which no line of demarcation is sought to be drawn between primary and secondary parts of such a plot, do not regard such an event as impossible. In the *Mbh.* particularly the figure of Kumāra is a legend and his hallowed name is taken in and belauded by a hero like Bhīṣma at the outset of the Kurukṣetra fight. Critics including such masters like Abhinavagupta and the author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[2] have brought in the issue of the aptness of the fusion of these two parts of the plot as in Kālidāsa's work in the manner evinced by his execution. While discussing this aspect a commentator of the *KS.* (*circa* 1400),[5] who lived in a age when the latter half had just come to be looked down upon because of the systematic attack directed against it, advocated the view of the *kāvya* ending with the eighth canto. But lo! he is extricated in his own net and forced unwillingly to subscribe to the views of canto IX at least being a part of the epic in matter and manner.

This introduces us to the two pertinent but interrelated questions—Who is the real hero in the *KS.* and what is the main (*angī*) *rasa*? Is Indra a mere *patākānāyaka*[4] or is he the *nāyaka*? The dictum of Bharata

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[1] विभ्राणः शक्तिमाशु प्रशमितबलवत्तारकौर्जित्यगुर्वीं
कुर्वाणो लीलयाऽधः शिखिनमपि लसच्चन्द्रकान्तावभासम्।
आधेयादन्धकारे रतिमतिशयिनीमावहन् वीक्षणानां
बालो लक्ष्मीसपारामपर इव गुहोऽहर्पतेरातपो वः॥

cited in the *Vyaktiviveka* (chap. II). The context in the *Vy. vi.* and its exposition by Rucaka tend to prove that Kumāra's supernatural prowess, which had taken such a hold in the minds of readers of *kāvya* literature, was deemed to have transcended all possible expectations (अत्रापरशब्दसामर्थ्यादातपे द्वितीयगुहत्वप्रतीतौ वस्तुतस्तदसम्भवे तत्सम्भावनायामुत्प्रेक्षा). In the *KS.*, XV. 34 (गुहो ... निदाघधामेव ...) the simile is the other way.

[2] यस्य धीरोदात्तादेर्यदेव फलमुचितं तस्यैवोत्कर्षो निबन्धनीयः। प्रासङ्गिकस्यापि च मुख्यवृत्त-प्रयत्नेनैव निष्पत्तिर्विधेया। प्रयत्नान्तरे हि तदपि मुख्यं स्यात्)।... (*Nāṭ. Dar.*, p. 30).... पताका-प्रकरीकार्य्याणां तु मुख्यफलं प्रत्युपयोगापेक्षयैकस्य द्वयोस्त्रयाणां वा मुख्यत्वमन्येषां चामुख्यत्वम्। तत्र पताकायां मुख्यत्वं यथा शौद्रकविरचितायां मृच्छकटिकायां पूर्वोपकारोपगृहीतस्यार्यकस्य। (p. 50).

[3] ननु तारकासुरनिग्रहः काव्ये साध्यतया निर्दिष्टः ... तस्मादनुपपन्नमेतत्। उच्यते—नात्र तारकासुरनिग्रहः कार्यः (दैवैः कुमारसृष्टिमाचेणैव ब्रह्माणं प्रति प्रार्थितत्वात्)। तारकासुरनिग्रहस्तु कुमारोद्भवप्रस्तावकस्य विचित्रत्वेनोपक्षिप्तः) Nārāyaṇa following Aruṇācalanāthā (on VIII. 91):—अयञ्च शिवयोः सम्भोग उत्तरसर्गार्थस्य कुमारसम्भवस्य प्रस्तावैकतयोक्तः।... प्रमोदेशमत्वेऽपि तारकवधोऽत्र प्रबन्धे न कार्य्यम्...।

[4] *Abh. Bh.* cited in the *Sāth. Dar.*, VI तत्र पताकेति पताकानायकफलं, निर्वहणपर्य्यन्तमपि पताकायाः प्रवृत्तिदर्शनात्। (See fn. 70; *Nāṭyadarp.*, p. 50) फलयोगस्तु मुख्यनायकस्यैव। The *Vijñapriyā* explains अनायकफलरूपा पताकैवागर्भादाविमर्शात् वा निवर्त्तते। In the present case if Śiva is the *nāyaka* and if we take our stand on His nature (cf. *KS.*, VI. 26 स्वार्था न मे काश्चित् प्रवृत्तयः।), then, consistent with the prelude to the plot noted in canto II, the fitting end would be what we find reiterated by Śiva Himself in XII. 55,

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—which critics of the school of Ānandavardhana have no scruples to extend to *kāvyas* as well—demands the closing of the *patākā* in a clever way before the main *kāvya* comes to an end. This has been explained in a manner which vindicates the view of scholars like the late Vitthala Sastrin who believes in the *KS.* as a unitary work naturally. The heroic is the province of the gods of Indian tradition, for they are *raudravīrarasapradhāna* in conception; and a narrative which depends on the erotic as its sustaining and dominating element does not fit in such epics. Daṇḍin[1] who, to us, in all appearances is the first who characterizes a *mahākāvya* insists on *sandhis* as in drama as plot requirements and on warlike features; and the *Agni-purāṇa* follows him. Some feel that it is risky to dogmatize, and Hemacandra and Viśvanātha in their characterization of the *sargabandha* seem not to subscribe to this view in the case of the *KS.*, in which according to them the *śṛṇgāra* is the dominating *rasa*. Even if it be conceded for argument's sake that the work ends with the birth of Kumāra as the consequence as some importunate scholars aver—because of a colourless statement of Mallinatha (?) at the beginning of his commentary in canto VIII—there are precedents in early literature (including the works of Kālidāsa himself) of the full implication of the contingency in the main plot being honoured.[1] The implications and limitations of Bharata's characterization of gods as *dhīroddhata* are acceptable to Abhinava, who restricts the application of this principle in the case of gods of the highest type like Śiva. Still the *KS.* retains some of the most elastic but impetuous features of the old characterization. Similarly, the conduct of Pārvatī is not shown as that of an *udātta* and a *dhīra* human *nāyikā* as represented in the line of erotic dramas. As for the sequel in the story relating to Pārvatī, who had to be starved of her emotional craving, such a contingency was nothing but natural as it was in the case of Urvaśī and Śakuntalā with their respective incidence and accidence. Moreover, the type of love (*śṛṇgāra*) painted in the *KS.* and in *Vik.* is just what Bharata would label as *arthaśṛṇgāra*.[2]

पुरा मयाऽकारि गिरीन्द्रपुत्र्याः परिग्रहोऽयं नियतात्मनाऽपि ।
तत्रैष हेतुः खलु तद्भवेन वीरेण यद्वध्यत एव शत्रुः ॥
अतोपपन्नं तदमी नियुज्य कुमारमेनं शतनापतित्वे ।
निघ्नन्तु शत्रुं सुरलोकमेष भुनक्तु भूयोऽपि सुरैः सचेन्द्रः ॥

Of the *sandhis* insisted on by Daṇḍin in his definition of the *sargabandha*, the *garbhasandhi* would be for the *Kāmadahana* and the *vimarśa* would cover cantos VI–XIII.

[1] Vide *Abh. Śak.*, I. 12 (पुत्रमेवं ... चक्रवर्त्तिनमाप्नुहि) in its relation to the end (VII. 33 पुरा ... जयति वसुधामप्रतिरथः) and *Nat. Dar.* the (*ante*) reference to the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

[2] *Nāṭ. Sā.*, XVIII. 74 (स्त्रीसम्प्रयोगविषयेष्वर्थार्था वा रतिर्यत्र); *Śṛṇgāraprakāśa* (chap. XIX) अर्थो नामात्मनः सुखसाधनानां कलत्रमित्रादीनामर्जनम् । (आदि includes पुत्र as noted in *Kāmasūtra*, I. 2, 9 प्रवृत्तौ तदाप्त्राभिमतोऽर्थशृङ्गारः) also धीरोद्धतस्य वृत्तेऽस्मिन्नर्थशृङ्गारसंश्रये । The *Daśarūpaka* lays bare the difficulty of reconciling उद्धतता associated generally with दर्प, माया, उद्भ्रान्तता, क्रोध etc. (न चावस्थान्तराभिधानमनुचितमङ्गभूतनायकानां नायकान्तरापेक्षया महासंक्षादेरव्यवस्थितत्वादङ्गिनस्तु ... अवस्थान्तरोपादानमन्याय्यम्) । This statement has a bearing on determining the character of the hero as the following remark of Abhinavagupta shows: यद्यपि देवाः पुरुषापेक्षयोद्धतास्तथापि स्वापेक्षया गाम्भीर्य्यप्रधानतयोदात्ता उच्यन्ते । भगवत्त्रिपुरारिप्रभृतयः, 'paving the way for the later insistence on the hero (human or divine) being characterized as धीरोदात्त ।

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Bhōja in his *Śṛngāraprakāśa*[3] connects a *dhīroddhata* hero with this type of *śṛngāra* and the practice of Kālidāsa lends weight to this interpretation.

The manner of depicting love in its ideal form and phase is not what concerns the poet—love here has an ulterior motive, and thereby is not the dominant *rasa* serving merely as the helping hand to a different *rasa*, the heroic (*vīra*). While the technical requirements of drama would preclude a poet's dilating on amorous sensibilities, situations and sportiveness, the *Vik.*, however, has enough of them. There was not such brake established by practice and theory in the case of the *mahākāvyas* for divine and semidivine characters—should this wholesome practice be given the go-by? Ānandavardhana[1] opines that the demands of *aucitya*, under what he includes the delineation of characters (*prakṛti*) and sentiment (*rasa*) primarily and discusses what Western scholars would call 'ethical touches', should never be transgressed. He is relentless in his criticism of the *sambhogaśṛngāra* which centres round the *KS.* pattern.[2] His view relates not only to canto VIII as is generally held but more properly to the canto IX and to a certain extent to canto X which are often indecorous and in a manner different from the stock samples of *śṛngāra* in Kālidāsa's *RV.* and in later poets. Mammaṭa according to Vitthala Sastrin expostulates in a paragraph in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*[3] which has a direct bearing on the treatment of the divine characters in their relation to *hāsa*, *vismaya* and *karuṇa*. This mode of interpretation, which is not known to early commentators of the *KP.*, is possible and plausible and in the light of Ānandavardhana's criticism is neither forced nor is an innovation. Less known authorities like Mahimabhaṭṭa and Kṣemendra[4] and the earlier commentators of *Kāvyaprakāśa* have extended the application of the

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[1] "ननु यद्यत्साङ्गादिभाववर्णने कथञ्चिद्दिव्यमानुषाद्यौचित्यपरीक्षा क्रियते तत् क्रियतां, रत्यादौ तु किंजनया प्रयोजनम्? रतिर्हि भारतवर्षोचितेनैव व्यवहारेण दिव्यानामपि वर्णनीयेति स्थितिः—नैवम्, तत्रौचित्यातिक्रमणे सुतरां दोषः।... तथैव विस्मयादिषु। यत्त्वेवंविधे विषये महाकवीनामप्यसमीक्ष्यकारिता लक्ष्ये दृश्यते स दोष एव।" (*Dhvanyāloka*, III. 10–14, *vṛtti.*)

[2] विविधं प्रकृत्यौचित्यं भारतवर्षेऽप्यस्ति शृङ्गारविषयं (following *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XVIII. 97, 98). यत्त्वन्यद्दिव्यमौचित्यं तदत्रानुपकारकमेवेति चेत्, न वयं दिव्यमौचित्यं शृङ्गारविषयमन्यत् किञ्चिदब्रूमः। भारतवर्षविषये "न च राजादिषु प्रसिद्धग्राम्यशृङ्गारोपनिबन्धनं प्रसिद्धं नाटकादौ, तथैव देवेषु तत् परिहर्त्तव्यम् नाटकादेरभिनेयत्वादभिनेयस्य च सम्भोगशृङ्गारविषयत्वात्तत्र परिहार" इति चेत्, न। यद्यभिनेयत्वेन विषयस्यासच्चता तत् काव्यस्यैवंविधस्य सा केन निवार्य्यते। तस्मादभिनेयार्थे च काव्ये यदुत्तमप्रकृते राजादेरुत्तमप्रकृतिभिर्नायिकाभिः सह ग्राम्यसम्भोगवर्णनं तत् पित्रोः सम्भोगवर्णनमिव सुतरामसच्चम्। (*Dhvanyāloka*, III. 10–14, *vṛtti.*)

[3] *Kāvyapr.*, VII प्रकृतयो दिव्या अदिव्या दिव्यादिव्याश्च...। तत्र रतिहासशोकाङ्गतानि अदिव्योत्तमप्रकृतिवदिव्येष्वपि (वर्णनीयानि)।...

[4] Kuntaka does not seem to be fastidious in this respect as is evident from the following extract (*Vakr. Jī.*, IV. 9, 10 कथावैचित्र्यपात्रं तदत्रिक्रमाणं प्रपद्यते। यदङ्गं सर्गबन्धादेः सौन्दर्य्याय निबध्यते। यत्राङ्गिरसनिष्यन्दनिकषः लोऽपि लक्ष्यते। पूर्वोत्तरैरसम्पाद्यः साङ्गादेः काऽपि वक्रता।) Mahimabhaṭṭa and Kṣemendra are more plainspoken and severe (e.g. *Vyak. vi.*:—न हि दृष्टतया यत्किञ्चनकारिणोऽन्यस्यापि स्वजातिसमुचितचरितमपहायाप्रसिद्धमेव किमपि रसभङ्गभीरवः कवयो वर्णयितुमाद्रियन्ते।... in the form of a pious wish and a hard and fast generalization, and *Aucityavicāracarcā* (अत्राम्बिकासम्भोगवर्णनं पामरनारीसमुचितं... अनौचित्यमेव परं प्रबन्धार्थः पुष्णाति)।

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term *aucitya* [1] as a consequence of which the latter half of the *KS.* became a text to which the advice amounting practically to a commandment 'taste not, touch not' is aptly applicable. This part was thus truncated from its body and branded as foreign and the story of a Bhojiya Kavīndra Kālidāsa had to be devised as a natural, though uninformed, sequel to this.

While it is thus as much a truism to assert that poeticists killed the latter half of the *KS.*, as a reviewer is said to have killed the English poet Keats, it is equally a just position to hold that it is they that have vindicated its place and existence in that *kāvya*. The angle of vision (*dṛs*), a suggestive term in Ānandavardhana's code, not unoften accustomed to unfavourable looks, which had come to scoff, has turned also as its saviour. What was lost and buried underground has been regained and has emerged, though perhaps in a damaged form. We are to remember that the critic as a judge is not merely the ordainer (*kāla*) but also the lord of ordinance (*kālakāla*) and is the primary medium of restoration of lost links (*samyoganimitta-hetu*) in the Upaniṣadic language. But the tangible result in so far as it affects the generality of readers has been that it has shelved the issue and clouded it. In a country where MSS. are difficult to preserve, where the period of accumulation has been between the ninth and the fourteenth century and where the poetical literature is a part and parcel of the curriculum of aspiring poets and of painstaking students, this has produced the one inevitable result that one can think of. It has made people sceptical and lightened the burden of their course of study.

That this way of cutting the Gordian knot has been a wrong move, damaging alike to the poet as to the students of poetry, was emphasized a century ago by the great educationist and Sanskrit scholar Pandit Isvarcandra Vidyasagara in a brilliant dissertation in Bengali, the first of its kind and a pioneer attempt in unravelling, though in an unambitious manner, the complicated threads in the field of history of Sanskrit literature. That scholar, with the *finesse* of literary appraisement, evidences of which are furnished along with others by his edition of some of the noted Sanskrit classics, drew his attention [2] to the injustice that has been per-

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[1] Śrīdhara in his *Kāvyaprakāśaviveka* says :—तथा नाटकादावाख्यायिकादौ सर्गबन्धादौ च ... अन्वर्थनामानः पञ्च सन्धयः ... अवस्थापञ्चकसहिता ... अर्थप्रकृतियुक्ता ये मुनिनोक्तास्तेषां यथावद्घटनमिति फलपर्य्यन्तानयनम्। अत्राधिकारिकस्येतिवृत्तस्य पञ्चसन्धित्वं परिपूर्णमेव कर्त्तव्यमिति नियमः ... प्रासङ्गिके तु नायं नियमः। (Folia 80a. Asiatic Society MSS. No. III. C. 217.) यत्तु मद्दाकवीनां कुमारसम्भवादौ सम्भोगवर्णनौचित्यत्यागस्तत्र शक्तितिरस्कृतत्वाद्दूषणमानोऽप्यर्थ सम्भोगः शक्तावेव विश्रान्तं हृदयं पौर्वापर्य्यपरामर्शं कर्त्तुं न ददातीति समर्थनीयम् (*ibid.*, folia 140a). Candīdāsa in his *Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā* in this connection remarks :—सभ्यसभ्यं वा भवतु कर्म न तत्राभिनिवेशः। केवलं यन्निबन्धे विनेयानामश्रद्धया चमत्कारव्युत्पत्त्याधानविघ्नसम्भावना तन्न ग्राह्यमित्युपदेशो न पर्य्यवस्येत्, असत्यतया प्रतिभासेऽनादरणीयत्वाभासादित्यर्थः।

[2] The first seven cantos are read and known—the remaining ten are totally out of circulation and have almost disappeared. Though these are fully characterized by *the outstanding poetic powers* of Kālidāsa, they have been out of vogue and are extinct because of their dilating on the amours of Hara and Gauri. (প্রথম সপ্তম সর্গের সর্বত্র অনুশীলন আছে। অবশিষ্ট দশ সর্গ একেবারে অপ্রচলিত ও বিলুপ্তপ্রায়। এই দশ সর্গ কালিদাসের অলৌকিক কবিত্বশক্তির সম্পূর্ণ লক্ষণাক্রান্ত হইয়াও যে অপ্রচলিত ও বিলুপ্তপ্রায় হরগৌরীর সম্ভোগবর্ণন তাহার কারণ। (সংস্কৃতভাষা ও সংস্কৃতসাহিত্যবিষয়ক প্রস্তাব) (*A Discourse on Sanskrit Language and Literature*, p. 611. Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat edn., printed from the third edn. (1867) of the work.) The Pandit refers incidentally to a cock-and-bull story relating to the immature powers of the poet while composing this part. He testifies to the difference of the readings in these cantos which, presumably, were tampered with by scribes, so much so that they appeared to be in form and expression dissimilar (অশ্রুবিধ এক শেষাংশ)।

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petrated by this sophistic shirking of the poet's characteristics, clear and limpid compositions and dubbing them as of pseudo-Kālidāsa. The minor variations in the readings, it was argued, are readings and not recensions; for the order and arrangement are the same. When he noted that there are transcripts available in the country and that the deviations can be explained (and some of these were interpolations and attempted emendations) he meant what is natural and logically likely.

A daring and deplorable distortion of facts and suppression of reliable evidence is to be found in a citation from the above dissertation of the Pandit in a recent edition (and translation of Kālidāsa's works) in Bengali script.[1] The editor, hurt and disturbed by the poet's fondness for chimes and jingles, rushes into a wild declamation and, though recognizing that there are differences in the level of execution, admires the *RS.* but disallows the latter half of the *KS.* and has the audacity to declare that the Pandit is on his side and leaving out one important sentence finishes up his verdict. As such an edition is likely to fall into the hands of a large number of readers, the mischief done is incalculable. It is possible and likely too that in the different periods of the young poet's career were produced the two halves as now partitioned and the piecing together has been for him a difficult and unenviable task and has caused some lowering of estimate of the poem; and we think there are reasonable evidences to hold that the *RV.*, too, has a similar history. We thereby do not subscribe to the view that there were different Kālidāsas as some hypercritical sceptics[2] would like to assert.

We have now clearly explained why the external evidence of the type which has forced Indologists to accept canto VIII is difficult to cite and adduce. But if one looks at the internal evidences and subjective considerations, the sceptics are certainly in a position to be silenced. The two sculptures that have been described in the paper are 'proofs in stone' to use the language of the late MM. H. P. Sastrin; and with their discovery the question has now become easier of solution—a hurdle is crossed and a

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[1] *Kālidāser Granthāvalī* (Vasumati edn., B.S. 1338). At the beginning of his translation and exposition of these cantos, the editor cites from the above dissertation of Pandit Vidyāsāgara, leaving out the sentences অবশিষ্ট দশ সর্গ... (though they are ... Gauri, previous fn.), noting omission with an asterisk, hoping with over-weening confidence that his readers would not look to the original and winds up with the bold preposterously false statement (p. 5) that in Vidyāsāgara's opinion the first seven cantos only are by Kālidāsa.

[2] These sceptics include (i) those who posit different Kālidāsas for poems and dramas, (ii) those who hold that the first halves of both the *Kāvyas* (eight for the *KS.*) are genuine and (iii) those (these are very few) who think that the entire *KS.* is not from that master-poet. These refer, along with other things, to the inconsistencies and anachronisms, as if what they call as genuine is free from them (one may instance *RV.*, VI. 48–50, 62 and place them by the side of XV. 28 of *RV.*). Of the last category is Pandit Rāmajnā Pāndeo who has put forth the argument in the *Sarasvatīsusamā* that स्थाणोराश्रम, which is described in the *RV.* has been located elsewhere by the poet of the *Kumārasambhava*, i.e. in the Himālayan region. He does not care to recognize that *RV.* XI. 13 describes the sacred place of Kāma and not of that of Sthāṇu (Śiva). The following lines in the *Pramāṇavarttika-vṛtti* of Dharmakīrti (*circa* 600 A.C.), ed. by R. Sankrityāyana, Allahabad, 1938, form interesting and entertaining information to such sceptics (Kar. 242):—अपौरुषेयताऽपीष्टा कर्तृणामस्मृतेः किल ॥ *vṛtti*—एवं कुमारसम्भवादिष्वात्मानं वाऽन्यं वा प्रणेतारं व्यपदिशन्तो यदेव प्रतिव्यूह्येरन्. The commentary (9th century A.C.) explains:—कुमारसम्भवादिषु ग्रन्थेषु कालिदासादयः ... प्रतिव्यूह्येरन् प्रतिक्षिप्येरन् मिथ्यावादो युष्माकं नं वयं प्रणेतार इति। नन्विदमेव कर्तुरस्मरणमपौरुषेयाभ्युपगमेऽङ्गं साधनं तच्च कुमारसम्भवादावस्तीति। (*Ibid.*, pp. 438-39.)

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great hurdle too. An intensive study of the whole text along with that o other works of the poet—and we may note certain selective verses from th different cantos and certain verses in consecutive verse sequences,[1] verse that are in the manner and method of Kālidāsa and breathe the very flavou and flair characteristic of his art—will reveal that it was the same hand tha wrote both the parts. The end in canto XVII is so nice and artisti bringing in the integrated result of the plot of the epic, the gain to the worl from this son of Śambhu that it becomes a fruitless chase to hunt up mor cantos[2] which Stenzler and Sankara Pandit seem to envisage. It would be continuing a Pauranic narrative in the desultory manner of the tex of a *coterie* intending to encompass in a slip-shod ill-planned composition a the achievements (*māhātmya*) of this son of Śambhu who is born professedly to reinstall the glory and grace of the gods and to bring out the majesty and potency of the divine couple Śiva and Pārvatī.

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[1] e.g. IX. 23, 43; X. 29–31; XI. 42–45; XII. 15, 33–38; XIII. 10–12; XIV. 2 5–12, 32; XV. 1, 34–37; XVI. 48–50; XVII. 14, 50–55. The text-sequences, as i XII. 31–42 and XIII. 33–43, are in the characteristic manner of Kālidāsa as well.

[2] The meaning of *sambhava* as proposed by certain scholars (भवो भूतिरैश्वर्य्यं महिम सम्यग्भवो महिमातिशयः), i.e. glorious achievement is hardly tenable as is that o सम्भाव्यमानता or potentiality. In connection with the former we are to note that th देवसेना (in *RV.*, VII. 1) is a symbol and not the wife of the god as in certain Paurani accounts. As per *RV.*, II. 37 (त्वयेनमद्रेस्तनया शुशोच सेनान्यमाल्लोदसिवासुरास्त्रैः), we ar not to be much worried with, for it is but a pet fancy of the poet (*RV.*, III. 68). The scars are traceable in imagination in *KS.*, XVII. 46; but because of poetic propriety the situation does not find a place in the work.

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